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Victor H. Paltsits
June 24, 1902.

The manuscript of the first 82 pp.
was revised for the printer by me
For Colonel Lathers.

Victor H. Paltsits

BIOGRAPHICAL SKETCH

OF

COLONEL RICHARD LATHERS

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RICHARD

ANNIE

ABBY CAROLINE

MRS. LATHERS

IDA

AGNES

JULIA

EMMA

VERNER

Victor M. Pallat Esq
With Kind regards of the Author

THIS DISCURSIVE

BIOGRAPHICAL SKETCH

1841—1902

OF

COLONEL RICHARD LATHERS

WAS COMPILED AS REQUIRED FOR HONORARY MEMBERSHIP
IN

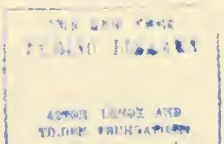
Post 509, Grand Army of the Republic

EMBRACING A

SIXTY YEARS' RESIDENCE IN SOUTH CAROLINA, NEW YORK, AND MASSACHUSETTS: DEVOTED ACTIVELY TO COMMERCE, AGRICULTURE, INSURANCE, BANKING, AND RAILROAD ENTERPRISE

With these multifarious occupations in three of the most controversial if not the most distinguished States in the Union, he participated in all the discussions, rights, and duties of citizenship in perfect harmony and unobstructed by sectional or party prejudices

PHILADELPHIA
PRINTED BY J. B. LIPPINCOTT COMPANY
1902



THIS VOLUME

IS

DEDICATED ON MY EIGHTY-FIRST BIRTHDAY
CHRISTMAS, 1901, TO MY WIFE

ABBY P. LATHERS

WITH WHOM I HAVE LIVED IN HAPPY MATRIMONY OVER HALF A CENTURY, AND ALSO TO MY SIX CHILDREN, ALL PRESENT ON THIS OCCASION, AND ALL REACHING MATURITY OF YEARS BY THE BLESSING OF DIVINE PROVIDENCE, WITHOUT A SINGLE MISFORTUNE IN MIND, BODY, OR ESTATE TO MAR THEIR UNITY AND AFFECTION FOR MYSELF AND ONE ANOTHER

This volume may be regarded as the index of a forthcoming historical compilation of the lives, letters and speeches of several hundred of our distinguished Divines, Jurists, Statesmen, Soldiers and Merchants, illustrative of that period of our history.

BIOGRAPHICAL SKETCH

OF

COLONEL RICHARD LATHERS.

THIS biographical sketch of perhaps the oldest citizen of our city of New Rochelle is chiefly confined to that portion of his life embraced by his continuous residence on his estate of Winyah Park, on the west side of our city, for a period of over a half-century, during which his seven children were born, reared, and educated. In this period, memorable for its unexampled activity in business and political life, as well as for its precarious years of a civil war which threatened the unity of the nation, New Rochelle grew from a small village of but six hundred inhabitants to a flourishing city of eighteen thousand active and cultivated people.

The compiler of these pages avails himself of the valuable and reliable information and editorial comments which a contemporary public press affords; for he has learned by many years' connection therewith that the atmosphere of individual life is largely composed of the public opinion as honestly expressed by the press in this age of independent journalism, and that the markings of the local journals, with some exceptions, furnish a fair barometer of individual character. It will be found that a ten years' residence under journalistic eyes never fails to establish the reputation of every citizen whose prominence challenges public attention. In accordance with these views, we have drawn freely from distinguished journals published in New York, South

Carolina, and Massachusetts, where Colonel Lathers has enjoyed an active interest and support in their public, social, and business relations for the long period of sixty years. For obvious reasons these extracts are taken from prominent Republican journals,—Colonel Lathers being a pronounced Democrat and free-trader, yet whose gratitude for their liberality has always been freely expressed by him.

The following correspondence passed between Colonel Lathers and Flandreau Post, 509, Grand Army of the Republic, and speaks for itself.

"New Rochelle, May 14, 1897.

"Rev. Charles F. Canedy, D.D.:

"Dear Sir,—We the undersigned, members of Flandreau Post, 509, G. A. R., would feel highly honored to have the history of such a citizen as Colonel Richard Lathers recorded in any memorial to the Grand Army of the Republic, and we feel that the Post concurs with us.

"Joseph Ferguson, *Post Commander.*
"George H. Deveau, *Post Commander.*
"George T. Davis, *Quartermaster.*"

"Winyah Park, New Rochelle, July 20, 1897.

"George T. Davis, Esq.,
"Quartermaster Flandreau Post, 509, G. A. R.,
New Rochelle, N. Y.:

"Dear Sir,—I have duly received your valued and kind official notification that my name is to be included and notice of my life is to be inserted in the memorial book of your veteran Post.

"I am greatly flattered by this manifestation of my fellow-townsmen of New Rochelle, where I have spent over fifty years of the most important portion of my

COLONEL RICHARD LATHERS, 1901.

life, with the most perfect mutual respect and harmony, in co-operating in all the relations of political and social life, without a single estrangement personally, however often we have differed in matters of opinion; nor does my name appear as plaintiff or defendant in any court of record.

"Here is my social and political record, which you properly require, and your appreciation of it is my valued reward, of which any citizen should be proud, and of which my wife and my children—the latter natives of the town—will garner as their biographical heritage, their father's name going down to posterity inscribed in your Memorial Book among those of the brave soldiers of the Flandreau Post who have honored New Rochelle by their military record, defending the Union and laws of their country against secession.

"In reply to your request for my biography, I will say that a witty Irishman, when asked to refer to his forefathers, replied, 'Some boast of four fathers, but by faith I've but one.'

"The poet has it:

"'———greatness lies
Only among the heroes and the wise.'

"Respectability without activity, reflex of ancestry, or the smiles of fortune, either or all must be supplemented by personal effort and intelligent zeal in the public interest, to insure the attention and the respect of posterity. Trumpeting the praises of one's ancestry, void of celebrity and fortune, is only, so to speak, 'great cry but little wool,' as the farmer exclaimed when shearing a hog.

"Looking back a couple of generations, I might recall from my family record such names as Gray, Atkinson, Harrison, Phillips, and Lathers,—an English, Scotch, and Irish ancestry. They were chiefly lawyers,

doctors, and clergymen; none of them attaining celebrity or wealth, blessed with large families but with limited estates. My maternal Great-grandfather Dawson was an English rector in a small Irish parish badly endowed, in which he was rector forty years; his son died a member of Parliament, who, in Webster's description of a lawyer, 'lived well and died poor,' from whom I derive my church proclivities. My paternal Great-grandfather Lathers, whose name I bear, was a Scotch Highlander, a colonel in the British army, from whom I derive my Scotch caution, toning down my Irish impulsiveness and radical democracy, always true, wherever they emigrate, to the government that insures their equality and protects their rights as citizens.

"I have, as you will perceive, no ancestry which would interest posterity. An honest Scotch, Irish, and English paternity, reared in South Carolina, of but moderate fortune and no great public or social prominence, are all that point to my respectability and the foundation of my character and fortune in that State, in which my early manhood was passed.

"Under the commission of Governor Pierce Butler, the hero of our Mexican War, I became a colonel of the Thirty-first Regiment of the State of South Carolina in 1841, and about the same time became the Senior Warden of the Episcopal Church of the parish Prince George Winyah, from which I took the name of my present residence, Winyah Park. By the assistance and patronage of friends, I early embarked, as a junior partner, in an extensive mercantile business in Georgetown, South Carolina, and in 1847 opened a commission business at 57 Broad Street, New York, branching into insurance and banking, and became an agent for cotton manufacturers, banks, and insurance companies of the South, and ultimately president of the Great Western

Marine Insurance Company of New York, with agents in London, Liverpool, Havre, and Antwerp, as well as in the chief maritime ports of our own country. My sympathies and occupations have always accorded with my surroundings. While importing and selling on commission sugar and molasses from Louisiana and Texas, cotton and rice from Florida, Texas, Alabama, Georgia, and South Carolina, I was also supplying milk by railroad to New York from my farms at Abby Lodge, Berkshire, Massachusetts, and carting hay for sale in Third Avenue, New York, the product of my farm at Winyah Park, New Rochelle.

"In the interest of the commerce of New York, and as chairman of the Finance Committee of the Directors of the Erie Railroad, I called and addressed, in Astor Place Opera-House, two meetings of the bond-holders and others interested in the success of the Erie Railroad in 1854, in behalf of aiding the financial embarrassments of the company, which resulted in liberal subscriptions to the funded debt, and relieved its distress at that time; and, in connection with Moses Taylor, Samuel Sloane, and other friendly bankers of New York, I negotiated and aided the South Carolina Railroad in its then embarrassed state.

"From all of these occupations, including my connections with the Erie Railroad, I retired in 1869, when I received the sumptuous dinner-set of silver, presented to me at New Rochelle, by Hon. William M. Evarts, on behalf of the Great Western Marine Insurance Company, after an official and successful service of fifteen years, and received also on the same occasion my own portrait painted by Huntington, the still more valued gift of the officers and clerks of that company.

"This, in brief, is my business record. I moved to New Rochelle on leaving South Carolina, in 1847,

having married Miss Abby Pitman Thurston, of Bond Street, New York, and of Newport, Rhode Island, and purchased my present residence, Winyah Park, as an inheritance for my family, at which time I also resigned my military and church appointments in South Carolina. I have been honored ever since as Warden of Trinity Church, New Rochelle, and have been a member of the Episcopal Convention of the Diocese during that long period.

"My political record is of a mixed character. An earnest Free-Trade, States-Rights Democrat, of intense Union proclivities, and a Churchman, I have never yielded my sentiments or modified my action to conserve popularity in the many relations I have held in South Carolina, New York, or Massachusetts, or with the sectional or partisan opinions of the time.

"In South Carolina, New York, or Massachusetts, where my political and sectional views were not always in accord with the sectional or partisan views, as just stated, I enjoyed the rights of citizenship, by courtesy, at one period and at one time in these three States, although exercising the right to vote only in New York. I was enabled to preserve the respect and esteem of contesting interests, sectional and political, by honestly declaring and firmly supporting my views with moderation and proper regard towards those with whom I differed. I have never allowed party fealty to pervert my principles in church or state, nor deserted either for non-essentials.

"During my tenure of citizenship of over fifty years in this town, I have participated actively in the principal public meetings of the town and county, embracing considerable contributions to the journalistic discussions in national, State, and municipal affairs, presiding, or addressing my fellow-townsmen on the issues of the

RICHARD LATHERS
OF SOUTH CAROLINA 1846
ABBY D. THURSTON
OF NEW YORK 1846

day, and I have nothing now to regret or modify in my course. My sympathies were always with the Democratic party and the constitutional rights of the South, but my judgment was with the North in the war,—my love of the Union transcending both, then, now, and forever.

"My first public record of my Union proclivities at the South will be found in my Fourth of July oration, delivered before the military, the citizens, and the Mayor and City Council of Georgetown, where I then resided in 1841. I organized soon after and took an active part in having that Congressional district represented for the first time in the National Democratic Convention, at Baltimore, which the party, led by incipient secessionists, had hitherto refrained from attending.

"I represented the Democracy of Westchester County as their delegate to the State Nomination Convention at Syracuse, 1860, and, by appointment of the State Committee, offered and advocated conservative Union resolutions prepared by them. I nominated, at their request, James T. Brady as a compromise candidate for Governor of the State, all of which were defeated by the Republican victory in the fall election.

"In December, 1860, in connection with General Dix, governor, Washington Hunt, William B. Astor, Stewart Brown, James W. Beekman, Wilson G. Hunt, Mayor Fernando Wood, Gerard Hollock, and others, seventeen signers in all, of whom I am now the only survivor, a circular letter was sent out addressed to the leading men of the State, asking them to convene at my office, 33 and 35 Pine Street, known as the Pine Street Meeting, to consider and suggest some remedy for the threatened rupture of the Union. This meeting, composed of some three hundred prominent conserva-

tive men of both parties, was opened by myself, at the request of General Dix, in a short address followed by the reading of the letter of General Dix to Secretary of the United States Treasury Cobb, of Georgia, and the letter of myself to Judge Magrath and four other prominent statesmen of South Carolina, in behalf of the Union and against secession.

"After reading these letters and the discouraging replies to them, I nominated Hon. Charles O'Conor for chairman of the meeting. At the close of his admirable address and those of several other distinguished speakers, a committee of thirteen was appointed to consider and report proper measures expressive of the sense of the meeting, of which committee William H. Aspinwall was chairman. This committee reported resolutions and the celebrated address to the South as prepared by General Dix. The resolutions, after some amendments to make them fully non-partisan, were unanimously passed. Under these resolutions Ex-President Fillmore and myself were appointed to go to the South and present them. Mr. Fillmore, on account of his delicate health, was unable to undertake the mission, and I was requested to perform the duty on behalf of the meeting. In the performance of this mission, I visited Washington and had confidential relations with the Peace Congress and other means in behalf of the Union. I also visited Richmond, Charleston, Augusta, Savannah, and Montgomery, delivering the address in each place with proper remarks to the officials.

"My address to President Davis of the Confederacy, in presenting the Pine Street appeal, was delivered only a couple of days before the attack on Fort Sumter, after which I went to Mobile by invitation of the Union merchants of their Chamber of Commerce, and while addressing there a large meeting of the citizens gen-

erally, as well as the merchants, the news came by telegraph that Fort Sumter was attacked, which, of course, brought my address to a premature end. It is due to the courtesy of the South to say, that the presiding officer of the meeting, a leading secessionist, requested the gentlemen to wait long enough for a resolution of thanks, but declaring a non-concurrence with my Union views.

"From there I went to keep a like appointment before the Chamber of Commerce in New Orleans. On my arrival in that city I was met by the mayor with a polite but firm order to quit the city at once.

"On returning to New York my time was largely occupied in co-operation with the Union Defence Committee in organizing volunteers for the army, and with the Chamber of Commerce and banks of the city in raising funds for the government, co-operating with Secretary Chase and his able assistant in New York, John J. Cisco.

"My published address before the Chamber of Commerce of New York on Taxation and Finance, urging a more effective preparation for the defence of the city, and my address before President Lincoln and his Cabinet in Washington, on behalf of the petition of the Chamber of Commerce, the underwriters, and the merchants of the city for naval protection of our commerce against Confederate cruisers on the ocean, are already before the public as printed in the journals of the day.

"It became my melancholy duty to make speeches before Tammany Hall, and the public meeting in New Rochelle, on the death of President Lincoln, a sad event, which largely blighted the peace he had secured, and the promise which his patriotism held out of an early and general reconstruction of the Union. I had

the honor of proposing and carrying before one of our war meetings of New Rochelle a resolution pledging our citizens for the support of the families of the volunteers of our town while engaged in the defence of the Union.

"I made speeches in Manchester, England, Edinburgh, Scotland, and in Lucerne, Switzerland, on the subject of the defence of the Union; also a speech before the Chamber of Commerce, New York, on presenting the equestrian portrait of General Scott, and was one of a committee of the Chamber of Commerce to receive the Prince of Wales, the Russian Fleet, and the Japanese Mission. On behalf of the Chamber of Commerce, New York, I addressed President Lincoln in Washington on presenting a petition for naval protection of our commerce in 1862.

"I have had the honor of entertaining, at Winyah Park, General Anderson, on his return from the defence of Fort Sumter, and General McClellan on his retiring from the Army of the Potomac; and in my Charleston residence of entertaining General McDowell, while in command of the army of the South after the war, when in the first reception the officers of both armies met congenially, and have had the satisfaction of listening, at my own table there, to the battle of Bull Run pleasantly discussed by him with General Bonum and other Confederate officers, invited to meet him, who had participated in that engagement. And here I cannot refrain from reciting a pleasant incident. General Chestnut, before the war a member of the United States Senate and a distinguished general afterwards in the Confederate army, inquired, in a good-natured way, whether General McDowell approved of General Joseph E. Johnston's description of the battle of Bull Run, to which he replied, 'I do, generally; but if he

had known how difficult it was for me to keep one of my lines together that day, he would not have censured me for failing to mass the two lines of battle from an undisciplined body of raw volunteers—in their first battle.' The fact is, apart from my feeble efforts to aid in suppressing the rebellion, I particularly value my good fortune, after the victory for the Union, in being able, in my three interstate residences, to entertain distinguished men of both sides and from all sections, imbued with the spirit of General Grant in giving us the patriotic sentiment, 'Let us have peace;' and of Senator Sumner's, who objected in the Senate to have any record of Union victories over our own citizens placed on the flag of our united country. I passed the last Sunday of this great Senator's life, at his request, in his room in Washington discussing Southern affairs.

"As a delegate from Charleston, I made speeches at the national mercantile conventions held first in Baltimore and next in Buffalo, which enabled me to infuse a feeling of reconciliation in those conventions of prominent citizens from all the prominent cities of the Union. At one of these conventions a resolution was passed thanking Charleston for sending so conservative a delegate.

"On social occasions, my Charleston residence became the first fraternal meeting-place of the officers of both armies, as well as of prominent civilians, among them governors of New York, New Jersey, Georgia, South Carolina, and Massachusetts, and members of the Cabinets of both governments. My parlors in Massachusetts and New York, as well as in Charleston, were the places where the more extreme of both sides came generally together, showing, after all, that blood is thicker than water. It was at my house in Charleston that the New England poet,

William Cullen Bryant, met the Southern lyrist, the author of 'My Maryland.' Perhaps the meeting of Miss Winnie Davis, daughter of Jefferson Davis, at Winyah Park, at a dinner given in her honor, with distinguished Republican statesmen, among them David Dudley Field and General Joseph James, and again, at my residence in New York, more recently, the meeting of the accomplished daughters of General U. S. Grant and General R. E. Lee, may be said to have closed the bloody gulf of secession.

"In connection with South Carolina, and in co-operation with the leading men of that State, I organized a non-partisan tax-payers' convention, meeting in Columbia in two sessions, 1872 and 1874 respectively, which, after due consideration, in the latter session formulated a petition to the President and Congress of the United States for relief against the well-known frauds and misrule of the carpet-bag system of foreign adventurers then composing the government of that State. A committee of twenty prominent men—the grandfathers of three of whom were of a like committee to welcome Washington to South Carolina after his inauguration—was appointed to present and advocate the petition, and, as chairman of the Chamber of Commerce, I presented the petition to President Grant with a speech invoking his sympathy and executive action. I also made a speech on the same subject before a joint committee of Congress appointed to consider the subject, in which I pointed out the authority and the duty of the government to afford relief under the fourth section of the fourth article of the Constitution of the United States, as quoted by Calhoun in the Dorr War in Rhode Island.

"When the Geneva Award was before Congress, I appeared before a joint committee of Congress, ap-

RESIDENCE OF COLONEL RICHARD LATHERS, CHARLESTON, SOUTH CAROLINA.
(Where the officers of both armies first met after the Civil War.)

pointed to consider the distribution of that fund, on behalf of my own company, the Great Western, and other Marine Insurance Companies of New York, as claimants, in which we were antagonized by a number of speculative New England claimants, represented by General Benjamin F. Butler, a member of Congress from Massachusetts.

"Shortly after the war I addressed, in my old home, Georgetown, South Carolina, the first combined meeting of white and colored citizens, and afterwards, by invitation, the colored and white people of Massachusetts, on the new issues of emancipation, at Pittsfield, Senator Dawes acting as chairman of the large meeting of the united races, probably the first in that State; and I cannot resist telling you that I delivered a popularly received address on my old friend Greeley, at the Charleston New England Society about the same time.

"I am very truly yours,

"RICHARD LATHERS.

"WINYAH PARK, September 1, 1897."

(Copied from the *New York Tribune.*)

"Colonel Richard Lathers, originally a commission merchant from Georgetown, South Carolina, his military title being derived from having served as colonel of the Thirty-first Regiment of that State, whose golden wedding was celebrated on the 9th, married Miss Abby Pitman Thurston, eldest daughter of the late Charles M. Thurston, Esq., of Bond Street, in this city, and the former president of the Exchange Bank of Newport, Rhode Island. The marriage was solemnized in St. Thomas's Church, on Broadway, by Bishop Whitehouse. Shortly after his marriage he removed to this city as a cotton commission merchant, having also the appointment of the agency of several banks and

insurance companies of Charleston, and having also a large correspondence with Southern rice and cotton ports, as well as the agency of a Carolina cotton-factory. He purchased and improved between one and two hundred acres of land in New Rochelle and Pelham,—his present legal residence, called Winyah Park,—although having also residences in Charleston, South Carolina, and in Pittsfield, Massachusetts, and taking an active part in the local and political concerns in these States from time to time. He has filled, and yet fills, the office of Church Warden, in Georgetown originally, and thence continuously in New Rochelle, for over fifty-four years, and while in active mercantile affairs in New York and in Charleston he was also an earnest practical farmer, having nine farms under cultivation in Massachusetts, and having delivered more *practical* addresses on agriculture in Berkshire than any New Englander.

"In 1854 he took an active part, co-operating with W. E. Dodge and Charles Moran, in the affairs of the Erie Railroad as chairman of the finance committee, as he did afterwards in the South Carolina Railroad in co-operation with Moses Taylor and Samuel Sloane. He was an active member of the Chambers of Commerce in New York and Charleston for many years, as well as being connected with banking and foreign exchanges. He retired from the commission business in 1854 and organized an International Marine Insurance Company, the Great Western, having agencies in London, Liverpool, Havre, and other marine cities in Europe and at home. On retiring, after fifteen years' success, the company presented him with a set of silver plate by the hands of and a flattering address by the Hon. William M. Evarts.

"In 1860 he was one of a committee representing

the Chamber of Commerce of New York to receive the Prince of Wales, a delegation from Japan, and officers of the Russian fleet.

"In 1860, in co-operation with seventeen leading merchants, bankers, and prominent citizens, among them General Dix, W. B. Astor, W. G. Hunt, and John J. Cisco (he being now the only survivor), he called in convention the prominent public men of the State who desired to save the Union and avoid civil war. Some three hundred gentlemen met at his office, and after earnest and patriotic addresses from Senator Dickinson, John McKeon, A. A. Lowe, and Charles O'Conor, who presided, W. H. Aspinwall as chairman reported General Dix's appeal to the South, which passed unanimously, appointing Ex-President Fillmore and Colonel Lathers a committee to present and advocate the address to the governors of South Carolina and Georgia and to the President of the Confederacy, Mr. Davis. Mr. Fillmore was unable to go to the South, and Colonel Lathers discharged the duty, closing his mission by his address at Montgomery to Mr. Davis, President of the Confederacy, and his Cabinet, a few days before the attack on Fort Sumter. Subsequently he entertained Major Anderson on his return from defending Fort Sumter, and General McClellan on his retiring from the Army of the Potomac.

"He took an active part in financial and military matters connected with the war, visiting Europe twice, and making Union addresses in Manchester and in Edinburgh. After the war he returned to Charleston and opened his house on the Battery, where the Northern and Southern officers first fraternized in social life in his parlors and at his table with mutual courtesy and friendship. General McDowell and Generals Bonum, Chestnut, and other brave antagonists

fought their battles over again as they drank to the Union and the Constitution. Governor Seymour, of New York, met in the same way Governors Orr and Magrath, of South Carolina, and Governor J. B. Gordon, of Georgia. William Cullen Bryant, the New England poet, met the author of 'My Maryland,' the Southern war lyrist, Randall.

"While residing in South Carolina after the war, he made the first address in Georgetown to both races, who had jointly requested his advice, urging the white to accept and utilize the new relations, and cautioning the colored men not to rush into politics till they were educated, and to avoid the advice of the white adventurers coming among them.

"He, in co-operation with Governor Porter, General Chestnut, General Butler, and other distinguished South Carolinian military officers and statesmen, called a convention of tax-payers to petition the Federal government to protect the State against the dishonest adventurers called carpet-baggers. As chairman of a committee appointed to present a petition to the President and to Congress, he first addressed the President, and the next day addressed a committee of Congress appointed to consider the petition. He was appointed to represent the Board of Trade of Charleston in the conventions in Baltimore and Buffalo. He is a member of some thirty associations, clubs, and business organizations, and his three residences have had the honor of extending hospitality irrespective of politics or section. In his associations he only requires, we understand, a conservative view in all things and freedom from sectionalism and sectarianism. He values himself on his success in reconciliation of sectional differences. It was at his house in Winyah Park he entertained Miss Davis, the daughter of Jefferson Davis, to meet

COLONEL LATHERS'S LIBRARY, NEW YORK.

distinguished Northern statesmen, and within a few years or so we recall the pleasant introduction in his parlors at Central Park of this city by the meeting of the daughters of General Robert E. Lee and General U. S. Grant as the typical closing of the *bloody chasm.*

"Mr. Lathers passes his evening of life quietly in his well-selected library, containing a fine collection of statuary, vases, rare pictures and engravings, collected during his travels in Europe, and we understand he is preparing, at the request of his numerous friends North and South, his memoirs of fifty years' active participation in social, mercantile, and political affairs of New York, South Carolina, and Massachusetts.

"Colonel Lathers purchased nine farms in Berkshire, Massachusetts, about equidistant between Pittsfield and Lenox, and erected thereon a neat villa, having a library and picture-gallery, called, after Mrs. Lathers, 'Abby Lodge,' which became a popular social centre of Western Massachusetts, and, perhaps, made more so by the beauty of the scenery, having nearly a mile of the mountain-margined Housatonic running through the lovely meadows and skirting the mountains on the east of it, with views from its piazzas of the surrounding country, away into the State of New York on one side, and the Vermont mountains on the other. Here, with his family and his numerous friends in and out of the State, he passed the summers of fifteen years, and their dinner- and garden-parties became a leading feature in that part of Berkshire, as the many descriptions contained in the journals of those days attest. On one of these occasions invitations were sent out for a given Monday, from two to six P.M., on the grounds of 'Abby Lodge.' Among the invited guests were the bench and bar of Berkshire. The court was com-

monly in session at this very hour, and as the genial and learned Judge Colt, we think, opened court by reading the docket, and began to call the cases for trial, the first response from the bar was a request for a continuance until the next day, as the lawyer had an important matter out of town. The judge said, 'There being no objection to it, it will be so ordered.' The next case met with the same request and courtesy, but as the third was presented, the judge said, 'Gentlemen, this farce has gone far enough. The fact is, that I have just learned that Colonel Lathers's family, at "Abby Lodge," has engaged society to meet at one of their garden-parties, and the court cannot see any practical value of holding court without the presence of the bar.' Then turning to the sheriff, he remarked, 'Mr. Sheriff, are you among the invited guests?' 'Yes, I have that honor.' 'Then,' said the judge, 'adjourn the court until to-morrow at ten A.M., and procure a couple of carriages, and we will enjoy the outing on the bank of the Housatonic, at "Abby Lodge."' The reader may imagine the scene in the Massachusetts court, headed by the sheriff, distinguished by his official cocked hat and red sash around his waist, entering among the ladies and gentlemen, to give grace, as well as the dignity of the law, to the social life of Berkshire. It was at this place that almost every visitor, North and South, found himself at home. At one time a Roman Catholic Bishop, Dr. Lynch, from South Carolina, a Protestant minister of Berkshire, Rev. Dr. Todd, and the Bishop of Massachusetts, Dr. Paddock, coupled with Puritan divines, extreme types of the clergy and statesmen of the most pronounced caste, with political antagonisms, were seated at the same table at 'Abby Lodge,' with Samuel Bowles, the representative of New England politics, of the *Springfield*

ABBY LODGE, PITTSFIELD, MASSACHUSETTS.

(From a painting by George Story, with family portraits.)

Republican, and the Confederate lyrist, author of 'Maryland, My Maryland,' the war governors of the South with the war governors of the North. One of the liberal journalists of Massachusetts, after quoting a very kind paragraph in the Charleston publication, and another in New York, commending the speech Colonel Lathers had delivered in Washington to President Grant, and virtually repeated before the joint committee in Congress, following this up by stating that he had just made a speech on States-Rights, in Massachusetts, in response to his being elected an honorary member of the alumni of Williams College, on being asked to explain why such a pronounced free-trader, on one side, and stern unionist, on the other, could find such friendly recognition in the two sections at the same time, replied, the only reason he knew was that he was a tremendous Yankee, an uncompromising Union man in South Carolina, and a pro-slavery, free-trade Democrat in Massachusetts, and the people of both sections believed him to be honest, and perhaps his own constant avowal of sentiment is verified,—'My prejudices are with the South, but my judgment is with the North.'

"He was an earnest agriculturist, and made by appointment many of the best practical addresses before the annual exhibitions held by the farmers of Massachusetts and New York. The addresses delivered at the celebration of the Deerfield Valley Agricultural Society and before the Pittsfield Agricultural Fair were put in pamphlet form for general circulation, by authority of the State. He cultivated his many farms in Berkshire and his land at New Rochelle. He was among the first to import Alderney cattle from England, through Captain Le Fevre, of this city, and twice a week sent night railway trains with milk to

New York from Pittsfield. His hay-wagons were often to be seen standing at the Bull's Head, on the Bowery, New York, loaded with hay, the product of his farm at Winyah Park.

"At that period he was importing and exporting cotton, rice, and sugar for Southern markets. At one time perhaps among the largest holders of these products, and representing several banks and bankers of the Southern States, selling their bills-of-exchange on London and Paris, whether directing in part the business of insurance, the running of railways, or the agriculture of his farms, he seemed to have had time to deal with politics in resisting secession at the South, or an undue extravagance in public affairs at the North. Through all the social and political upheavals of the different sections and political parties of the country, Colonel Lathers maintained his friendly relations with all parties, although often subjected to dangerous strains of political and sectional contention. He was fortunate in each location to find the same generous consideration of his views and prejudices as he extended to others, on religious, political, or sectional differences of opinion, and to whatever charge his course may have been obnoxious, for want of conformity to local or party prejudices. He has not been a plaintiff or defendant in any of our courts, and no one could justly attribute to him the slightest modification of his well-known policy to placate opposition or secure a favor at the North or at the South. He was for the Union, against secession; an advocate of States-rights, against federalism; a churchman, against puritanism; a pro-slavery advocate, against abolition; a free-trader, opposing revolutionary premature legislation to abolish the tariff, leaning somewhat in the advocacy of the doctrines of the South in Massachusetts,

and of the doctrines of the North in South Carolina. In illustration of the foregoing sentiments, Colonel Lathers has delivered numerous speeches; the titles to a few of them are given hereafter as examples of the current issues in which he was engaged, and which have received the endorsement of the leading journals of the country."

In addition to the above extracts from the *New York Tribune*, a few notices of our fellow-citizen from the Republican press of New England are here given:

(From the *Adams Transcript.*)

"Colonel Lathers's new picture, 'The Interior of St. Marks,' cost five thousand dollars. It will be on exhibition in the coming winter at the Academy of Design in New York, with another picture, a view of Venice, by the same artist, owned by Colonel Lathers. He has mounted on the pedestals on the terrace of 'Abby Lodge' ten of the first balls fired into Fort Sumter, presented to him by the commanding general."

(From the *Pittsfield Eagle*, the Republican organ of the county, July 23, 1874.)

"The Republicans say that Colonel Lathers is talked of as a Democratic candidate for Congress from this district. Colonel Lathers is an able and upright man and would be a creditable standard-bearer for his party."

(From the *Springfield Union*, also Republican, August 3, 1874.)

"DINNER-PARTY AT ABBY LODGE.

"Colonel Richard Lathers gave a return dinner-party on Thursday to his friends W. S. Blackington, Esq., of North Adams, and Hon. Walter Shanly, the

distinguished engineer and constructor of the Hoosac Tunnel, who, though engineering and building a greater work than that at Mount Cenis under the Alps, on account of the difficulties encountered and overcome in the boring of the Hoosac, bears his laurels with a quiet and gentlemanly dignity and grace quite rare in these days when men of far lesser achievement have rejoiced in riding on the seas of popular ovation.

"Among the guests were Samuel Bowles, of Springfield, General Bartlett, Colonel Pomeroy, Hon. H. L. Dawes, Major Quackenbush, Colonel Cutting, Hon. Thomas Allen, Hon. Thomas Colt, Theodore Pomeroy, E. S. Francis, Edwin Clapp, Dr. Vermille, J. A. Kernochan, and a number of other distinguished citizens of the county and State."

(Editorial from the *Springfield Republican*, the Republican organ of the State.)

"THE STATE CANVASS.

"Who shall take the vacant lieutenant-governor's place on the Democratic ticket? We hope the party won't be discouraged, but still try to get the best. Outsiders who are both willing and useful are scarce, indeed, but perhaps one can yet be found. Then there is Colonel Lathers, of Pittsfield, who would be a real addition to the ticket."

(From the *Sun*, the Democratic organ of the county, October 13, 1875.

"BERKSHIRE'S CANDIDATE.

"Berkshire presents Colonel Richard Lathers for lieutenant-governor if General Bartlett has refused the Democratic and Liberal nomination, which all honest men in both parties in Berkshire and the State regret, and only those holding office under Grant or sticking

blindly to the waning lead of the Administration party rejoice over. We speak intelligently when we say that Berkshire, to whom the nomination still belongs by courtesy, is not out of as good timber to fill the vacancy, and that the voters of the county present the name to the State Central Committee and the people, of Colonel Richard Lathers, a citizen and resident of Pittsfield, and a man whose record is as clear in Western Massachusetts, as a Democrat and Liberal, as the noonday sun.

"We take this opportunity, therefore, with the full assent and demand of our party in Berkshire, and the assurance that Colonel Lathers will take up the colors with Governor Gaston and go forward, hand in hand, with him to the grand rally of the party and its victory in November, to name him for the nomination.

"We present him also to the Committee and the party as the strongest, ablest, and most eloquent representative man in Western Massachusetts, if not in the State, who by his able speeches, and his former refusal of office of any kind during his eminent career as an able statesman and sound business man, has endeared himself to the liberal politics of old Berkshire, as well as places of former residence.

"Lastly, we present him for nomination as a native and Union patriot of South Carolina, to cement a new bond of renewed friendship between the North and the South, so happily inaugurated at the Centennial of Bunker Hill. South Carolina has a native Massachusetts man for governor, and we cannot but return the compliment by putting a native South Carolinian upon our Democratic ticket, in the person of Colonel Richard Lathers."

It is understood that Colonel Lathers is about to publish extensive notes of sixty years of his own ex-

periences, embracing over four hundred letters from leading personages of the times, in which will be found, no doubt, full reports of his own speeches and letters and those of the distinguished personages connected with him in public life, not given in this sketch, among them his speech before Jefferson Davis and his Cabinet, delivered a few days before the attack on Fort Sumter, at Montgomery, then the capital of the Confederacy. Among these letters and addresses are a joint letter against secession to United States Judge Magrath and other distinguished statesmen of South Carolina, in 1860, who subsequently figured as leaders in the Confederacy; a speech before President Lincoln in 1861, on behalf of the shipping merchants and the Chamber of Commerce, New York, against the policy during the Civil War of attempting to levy taxes on Southern agricultural products,—cotton, tobacco, and sugar,—as violating the constitutionality of the equality of the States, secession having no power to dissolve the Union; a speech before Tammany Hall, repeated at New Rochelle, on the death of Lincoln; a speech before President Grant, as chairman of a delegation from a South Carolina convention, in 1874, asking the government to reinstate the white citizens of the State to their constitutional rights, and to suppress the usurping government of the enfranchised slaves led by adventurers from other States and known as carpet-baggers, who were robbing the people; a speech before the joint committee of Congress, appointed to hear the grievances of the white voters, tax-payers, and native citizens, deprived of their inheritance as freemen; a speech before the Chamber of Commerce in Charleston, in 1872, to arouse the people of the State to take measures and issue a call for a tax-payers' convention. At the opening of this convention Colonel Lathers laid before the State

the evils complained of, advising a conservative but firm petition to Congress against the evils of the reconstructive measures of a partisan Congress; a speech before a joint committee of Congress, on behalf of the New York Underwriters, claiming a portion of the Geneva award from the British government, in opposition to the appeal of General Benjamin F. Butler for certain claimants of New England insurance companies; speeches made, as the delegate from the Board of Trade of Charleston, at the banquet given in Buffalo in honor of the National Board of Trade, in response, by appointment, to the toast "Our Country;" a speech before the Lloyds, of London, on the occasion of being elected an honorary member of that ancient marine institution; a speech before the alumni of Williams College, Massachusetts, on the importance of preserving States-rights to New England, given in response to the honor of being elected an honorary member of the alumni of that ancient institution; an address before the first public joint meeting of the colored and white races, after emancipation in Georgetown, South Carolina, on their mutual rights and privileges under emancipation, by request of a joint committee of the two races. The next year he delivered an address at the Academy of Music, Pittsfield, Massachusetts, presided over by Senator Dawes of that State, an important meeting, called by a mixed committee of both races; an address before the convention of Massachusetts journals, on the history of journalism; an address at a Literary Club in New Rochelle, in 1854, on slavery at the South, by special request, Mr. Frederick Prime presiding; speeches delivered in 1855 in the Opera-House, New York, and repeated in a week before the stock- and bond-holders of the Erie Railroad, as chairman of the finance committee, asking assistance during

the panic of that year; a speech in 1863 before the Harbor Defence Committee of the City of New York, urging better protection against Confederate cruisers; a speech before the Chamber of Commerce concerning the government of the seamen's Snug Harbor; a speech before the Democratic State Committee, as candidate for the State Senate, refusing to comply with the usage of candidates visiting liquor-saloons during the canvass, despite the example of his competitor for the office, and by his request and protest the custom was ignored; a speech in the Chamber of Commerce of Charleston, South Carolina, on the affairs of the South Carolina Railroads; a speech at the Lotus Club, New York, by request of President Daly, on behalf of the Geographical Society of New York, in response to the toast, in honor of the guest of the evening, Mr. Stanley, setting forth his valuable services to the commerce and civilization of the world, by his explorations in Africa; a speech at the Business Men's Democratic Club's annual dinner, at New York, on free-trade; an address before the Marine Society, on the decadence of our shipping, caused by the excessive protective tariff on ship-building materials; a speech before the New England Society, in Charleston, in memory of Horace Greeley; a speech at the Lotus Club, New York, in reply to Colonel Ingersol's attack on religion; the anniversary address at the Church Club, New York, at their first banquet, in 1889, on "The Duty of Churchmen to the State;" anniversary address before the agricultural associations of Deerfield Valley, Massachusetts, Rockland County, New York, and Pittsfield, Massachusetts, on the practical farming of these States; an address in Charleston, on the water supply and drainage of that city; anniversary addresses before the Mercantile Association of New York, on commerce; an address before the Bor-

cella Club, New York, on the history of art; an address at the banquet of the Marine Insurance Companies of New York and Philadelphia, on their history and value to commerce; a speech on the anniversary of Jackson's victory at New Orleans, and war on free-trade and sailors' rights; an address before the business men's association of New York, in 1889, on the value of integrity in public affairs and of loyalty in party politics; a speech at the banquet of the Washington Society, 1895, in honor of his birth-day, on the Genius of Democracy; an address at Twilight Park, Catskill Mountains, on "Currency and Coinage as opposed to Bryanism;" three political speeches in reply to Hon. Chauncey M. Depew, in New York, Senator Dawes, and Professor Seely, of Massachusetts; these three speeches are the only ones of a political character here cited, because, like the others cited above, on other subjects, they were published in the journals of the day, having the friendly criticism of the conservative press of both parties, even when the doctrines discussed were not always concurred in by the critics,—an evidence of the liberality of the press of our country, which assures fairness to our people under the most heated ordeal of politics, religion, or sectional prejudices.

Having given a list of his more prominent speeches, it may not be out of place to add a group-list of official personages with whom he has had personal and official connection, as set forth in his notes of sixty years, the greater number having passed away by death, and many of them out of sight, politically. Such is life in a republic! Their names are omitted for want of space. Ten Presidents of the United States; fourteen bishops of churches; twenty prominent editors; twenty major-generals of the Union army; fourteen Confederate

generals; thirty governors of States; fifteen judges and distinguished jurists, including some of the United States Supreme Court; twenty statesmen not in office; three lieutenant-generals, United States army; three admirals, United States navy; one admiral of the British navy.

In this connection it is well to give the following incidents: Colonel Lathers was present at the inauguration of opening the Croton water into the reservoir in Forty-second Street, New York, and he has now witnessed the demolition of that edifice and the beginning of the edifice for the City Library. He witnessed the triumph of Jenny Lind at Castle Garden, her sweet voice being accompanied by the colonel's flute, loaned to Professor Kyle for the occasion, having been selected by her as peculiarly in sympathy with her voice. The colonel exhibits it with great pride, having a silver band on it setting forth the fact that it made her professional tour over the country with her. He witnessed also the celebration of the first message passing over the Atlantic cable, Queen Victoria's congratulations to President Buchanan; the original, here produced, was presented to the colonel by Wilson G. Hunt, then acting as president of the company. He also witnessed the arrival of the Prince of Wales in New York, as one of the committee appointed to receive him and his distinguished company. About the same time he was appointed by the Chamber of Commerce on each of the two committees to receive the Japanese and the Chinese delegations, and soon after to receive and entertain the officers of a Russian frigate.

Colonel Lathers is a lover of art, and in his youthful and school-boy days devoted some time to drawing, architecture, and landscape-gardening, under the tuition of the distinguished artist in these studies, Alexander

J. Davis, in New York University, where he made the acquaintance, and profited by it, of Professor Morse, the inventor of the telegraph, then a distinguished painter, whose works rank with the first in American art; and also with A. J. Downing, the first to practise the art of landscape-gardening in this country, of which our public parks are specimens at this time. The illustrated frontispiece to this work is the Tuscan villa residence of Colonel Lathers, designed by the architect, A. J. Davis. While the youthful Carolinian was finishing and coloring to nature one of his architectural studies, involving a careful rendering of linear perspective, of which he was very proud, Professor Morse came in from his studio, an adjoining room, and, looking over the student's drawing for a moment, remarked, "Pretty well done, Richard." With the assurance of a kindly critic, he replied, "Why not 'well done,' professor?" Morse answered him pleasantly, "Because it isn't. Your linear perspective is all right in the angular drawings, but you must not forget that perspective applies to color and shade." Taking up the brush then being in use by the student in coloring a tree and some background shrubbery, he proceeded to correct the defects of shade and color in landscape perspective, and further remarked, "Your shades are too heavy in some parts, while in others they are too light to indicate relative distances in your composition." After repairing these defects, he remarked, "You are doing it very well, and I have only repeated substantially my first lessons which Sir Benjamin West gave me on my presenting my first study for application as a student in the Royal Academy in London, which I have never forgotten in criticism of my own works or those of others." In five minutes he had, by his skilful coloring and modified shading, made the picture of New York Harbor, which the

colonel never fails to call attention to as his relic of his student life and his recollection of our great artist. The picture represents a study made from near Governor's Island in the bay of New York, sketched from nature from a boat used for the purpose.

The Tuscan villa here given is from the design made by Alexander J. Davis for the residence of the colonel in Winyah Park. For this design Mr. Davis received the first premium at the World's Fair, held at New York, and with it villa architecture came into practice, especially in the country-seats on the Hudson River. This brick and marble edifice was the first to emerge from obscurity in the rural architecture of New Rochelle, and it was here that Major Anderson was entertained on his return from his defence of Fort Sumter in 1861. Subsequently General George B. McClellan, on his returning from the command of the Army of the Potomac, was also entertained here. Indeed, this part of Lathers's Hill, Winyah Park, was honored during the Civil War and reconstruction period by memorable gatherings of the most distinguished participants and personages of the North and the South. Miss Winnie Davis, the accomplished daughter of the late Confederate President, Jefferson Davis, since called popularly "The Child of the Confederacy," and Miss Mary Lee, the distinguished daughter of General Robert E. Lee, were numbered here among the guests of Colonel Lathers. The meeting here of the daughters of Generals Lee and Grant was considered, figuratively, as closing the chasm which a civil war had made.

Although regarding Winyah Park as the legal residence and choice of himself and his family, under the tenure of over half a century, and dedicating that property as an inheritance for them, reared and educated there, as their home, he has, as already herein stated,

WINYAH, THE RESIDENCE OF COLONEL RICHARD LATHERS, NEW ROCHELLE, NEW YORK.
(For which the architect, A. J. Davis, received first prize at the World's Fair, New York.)

established residences for their health and amusement in various other places, and more recently in New York, at 248 Central Park, West, as well as a mountain residence in the Catskills, the "Chicora Cottage," at Twilight Park, Haines Falls, for a summer home. The name "Chicora" was chosen in honor of the original name given by the Spaniards who discovered Charleston. The New York City house contains a large collection of paintings and engravings and a library of rare books, chiefly obtained in Europe. The cottage at Twilight Park is furnished in the same manner, including also a library and paintings. This summer residence is the resort of the whole family and their friends, for recreation and health, from July to October, and furnishes a delightful society for some sixty cottagers, whose friendly intercourse is not restricted by too much fashionable formality. There are two churches, one of which is the Episcopal Church of "All Angels," which was established and is now maintained chiefly by the influence of Bishop Satterlee, of the Diocese of Washington, who has a country-seat in the Park; the other church is for independent worshippers, the pulpit being served by visiting clergymen of all persuasions. There is in this little settlement, drawn together for only three months, a delightful unity of feeling. There is not a single family or individual having any grievance. Even theology here dispenses with its exclusiveness, when the churches hold meetings for charity or social purposes, and interchangeably assist each other. Indeed, Bishop and Mrs. Satterlee may be regarded as patron saints of the social life, whether on the golf links or in the more quiet relations of the drawing-room. Perhaps the Sunday-night meetings at "Chicora Cottage," continuously held for over nine years, may be regarded as unique, as

well as an illustration of the unity of feeling at Twilight Park. At the opening of each season notice is given from the pulpit in each church that the rooms and piazzas of "Chicora Cottage" will be open from eight to nine o'clock every Sunday night during the season, for all desiring to pass an hour in singing the praises of God. All the cottagers, young and old, and any visitors in and out of the parks, are cordially invited to attend, the number sometimes reaching one hundred and fifty guests. A copy of a music-book, containing popular hymns, is placed on each chair for the use of the audience. An invitation is extended to each person to name some hymn in the book that should be sung, which is done, including one or two youthful Sunday-school hymns, in which the children can join. At precisely eight o'clock Colonel Lathers, with his flute, and accompanied on the piano or organ by one of his daughters, either Agnes or Emma, and sometimes by Mrs. Lathers, begins the service by using one of the popular hymns, led by the voices of Mr. Simpson, the colonel's son-in-law, Mrs. Simpson, Professor and Dr. Hutton, and President Smith of Trinity College, Dr. Suydam, seconded by Bishop Satterlee, Dr. Cuyler, and Rev. Dr. Wilson and Rev. Dr. Cuyler, of Brookline. After singing a few hymns, Mr. Simpson and others, proficient in music, render solos. At precisely nine o'clock the piano and flute commence to play "America," when the whole congregation rises and sings three verses of the hymn, which terminates the service, never allowed to exceed the hour. After the music, the visitors converse with each other and enjoy the pictures on the walls of the different rooms for a short time, and then commence to light their lanterns, by which to find the paths through the mountains to their respective cottages. No collections are ever taken

CHICORA COTTAGE, TWILIGHT PARK, HAINES FALLS, NEW YORK.

up, nor are solicitations for money for any purpose permitted in "Chicora Cottage."

Colonel Lathers has now passed his eightieth birthday, and the fifty-fourth year of his happy married life with Miss Abby Pitman Thurston, eldest daughter of Mr. Charles M. Thurston, of Bond Street, New York, —a union of which it was the idle averment for him that he had never uttered an unkind or reproachful word to her, and she had never deserved it.

He has lived to see his own country encounter the ordeal of civil war, instigated by sectional fanaticism, but contested with matchless bravery and knightly chivalry in its prosecution and settlement, without parallel in the civil wars of the world. He has lived to see five popes of Rome; two kings and a queen reigning in England; two Bourbons, one Orleans, one emperor, and a second and a third republic in France; five czars in Russia; and five monarchs and one republic in Spain. He has seen twenty-one Presidents of the United States, and the birth of the German empire. He saw the first use of the electro-magnetic telegraph and telephone for commerce and for war. He saw all Europe disturbed by revolution, and he watched the marvellous development of the steamboat and engine, and the astounding progress of the nineteenth century with its unprecedented advances in science and the arts. He has lived to see an utter change in the diplomacy of nations, the structure of navies, fortifications, and military tactics, gas superseded by electricity, and telegraphy under water by the atmosphere for a conduit. He has witnessed our successful war against Spain and the annexation of extensive territories gained thereby, and the ambition for empire, quite out of harmony with the genius and teachings of the fathers of our republic,—a dangerous

departure from the wise policy by which our wonderful natural wealth and power have been secured.

To intensify the dangerous menace of the times, under the false and perverted theories with which our literature and political teachings are flooded, we have to record the growth within a few years of the horrid crime of assassination, by which three of our chief magistrates have fallen victims,—a crime hitherto unknown to our race, but planted here by the revolutionists of Europe, who, like the criminals of all shades, make our country the refuge of crime, a wicked and perverted use of our liberal hospitality, for which our legislation has not yet found legal means of prevention.

It is sad to contemplate the greater danger already securely invading our large municipalities,—the steadily increasing power of corruption in public life, in almost the exact ratio as our citizens of integrity and culture have withdrawn from the exercise of their duties and responsibilities in matters of public concern. There is, however, an instinct in our country which is hostile to corruption in public life. The prevalent neglect of the duties of citizenship, imperative in a republic,—a neglect due to our too active pursuit of wealth and the love of luxury which it fosters,—will, like all evils, become destructive of itself, when our citizens awake to find taxes oppressing them and mortification reaching them personally. Their eyes shall then be opened to the fact that "the price of liberty is eternal vigilance."

Colonel Lathers and his family have been singularly blessed by health and prosperity, with a single exception,—the death of a son,—in their long sojourn together. They have seen their children grow up to manhood and womanhood, and educated in a school in their own house, and by travel in foreign countries,

without any misfortune, and the securing of all the advantages which home culture and good conduct can assure, by modest living in society and in confidence in business relations, while those coming into the family by marriage strengthened and intensified the mutual ties of affection between its members. His son, Richard, was born at Winyah Park, and was educated at Williams College, Massachusetts; leaving college he spent five years in a factory in Pittsfield to learn the business. He was married to Miss Annie Moorewood, daughter of Roland Moorewood, merchant of New York and of Pittsfield, Massachusetts, where they have a summer residence, as well as their well-known hospitable residence on Winyah Avenue, where Mrs. Lathers has become patroness in every social and charitable undertaking in our city. His daughter Emma is married to Matthew Verner Simpson, of Philadelphia, son of the late Bishop Matthew Simpson, of that Diocese, a leading member of the Philadelphia Bar, and a prominent layman of his communion in that city, in which his wife, Emma, is distinguished in its charities and religious life, as well as an active participant in the social functions of that city. The colonel's eldest daughter, Abby Caroline Lathers, was born in Georgetown, South Carolina, before the abolition of slavery, her nurse being the last slave owned by her father, who, when offered her freedom if she would accompany the family to the North, at first consented, and her baggage was sent off; but she came to the colonel and said, "You must excuse me, Massa Richard, but on talking it over with my friends, I have concluded to find another master here, rather than leave all my kin and go among strangers, for although I love Miss Carrie, and I know how kind old Missy is to me, yet, if you and Misses die before me, there will be no one to care for me. The

colored people of the North have no sympathy with the whites, as down here." This argument was unanswerable, and the colonel found her a good master, and she lived happy in her old home. It is doubtful whether emancipation has benefited the slave at the South, or, indeed, whether it has added to the practical benefits of the enfranchised race in the North, which is attested by over a hundred years of freedom, wherein the negro is in no manner elevated by emancipation. The other three daughters, Agnes, Julia, and Ida, were all born and educated at Winyah Park in a schoolroom of the residence, with the other children of the colonel, by Miss Johnston, and by travel in Europe. Their father, when asked why he took his daughters so frequently to Europe and yet did not mix among the fashionables of the day with our own countrywomen there, replied that he had two objects,—first, to let his children realize how many people there were in the world superior to themselves, to inspire modesty, and to let them realize how much superior our country is to that of Europe, by which to inspire their patriotism. "At any rate," said the colonel, "I am proud of my daughters; they are capable of exercising useful industries with taste and efficiency in all that concerns religion, refinement, and charity; when I observe their application to these duties of true womanhood, when I see the love and affection which they bear to their mother and to each other, I regard the measure of my happiness as full, and every day I thank God that my modest means are satisfactory to my wife and children, without the folly of trying to live beyond their income, so full of anxiety to all and despair to many a father of a family. There is an economy to be observed in the family, which is without meanness, and a hospitality without extravagance, which affords the greatest

measure of independence, and, perhaps, of social consideration."

Here the compiler of these pages shall insert a letter addresed to the *New York Tribune* in September, 1882, in evidence of the value of home training in our little city, by the celebrated Jennie June (Mrs. Croly), whose literary and social prominence have been accentuated by being the first president and, indeed, the chief promotor of the Sorosis Club of New York. This description was composed by the fair authoress as a sketch of the family anticipating the wedding of the colonel's son. It is not exaggerated in any degree, except in so far as it speaks of the wealth of the colonel, whose fortune, and that of his family, is but moderate, as compared with that of our wealthy leaders of society in New York.

MARRIAGE OF RICHARD LATHERS, JR., AND MISS ANNIE MOOREWOOD.

(Jennie June's Letter, September, 1882, copied from the *New York Tribune*.)

"A GOOD FAMILY TO MARRY INTO.

"The wedding announced to take place at Pittsfield, Massachusetts, on September 21, between Richard Lathers, Jr., and Miss Annie Moorewood, excites a good deal of interest in fashionable and artistic circles in this city, where the parties are well known: the bridegroom being the son of Colonel Richard Lathers, of Winyah Park, New Rochelle, and also the owner of a manorial residence in Pittsfield, and Miss Moorewood the daughter of the wealthy proprietor of the great woollen manufactories of Pittsfield, in which Richard Lathers, Jr., has a proprietorial interest, and in which, previous to assuming superior functions, he

took every step in the art of manufacture, from the sorting of the wool to the weaving of the cloth, so that there is not an industrial place in the vast works that he could not fill.

"The fact is apropos of a charming incident, which occurred a few days ago, and which will show to what good uses his entire family put their time and talents. Colonel Lathers is a millionaire, and occupies the position of a social magnate. His home at New Rochelle is one of the finest in the suburbs of New York, and stands in a park of three hundred acres, laid out and cultivated in English style. He entertains royally, is a patron of art, and recently presented a number of artists the costly ground upon which to erect a co-operative studio building. His family consists mainly of daughters, one of two sons having died about a year ago, and his wife is a representative of one of the oldest and best families of New England. The daughters have naturally had the highest advantages and the finest training, have known only the best society,—not perhaps the most fashionable, but the most cultivated, for upon the other, though they could certainly have had all they wished, they have not cared to waste much time. It is of this family that Richard Lathers, Jr., the expectant bridegroom, is a member, and it was in the morning-room at Winyah Park that a lady caller saw three beautiful dresses undergoing the final touches at the hands of two of the daughters of the house, who have made them entirely, as they always make their own, as a gift and compliment to their future sister-in-law.

"The first was the bridal dress, a very elegant combination of satin and moire, the latter forming the train, the former the upper part of the puffed and shirred front and thick triple ruching which sur-

rounded the graceful train. The lower part of the front, between the soft falling puff and knife-plaiting of satin, was a deep band of plain moire, covered with graduated pendants of narrow satin ribbon, pointed with tassels of crimped silk, which had the effect of a very lovely and novel fringe. The bodice was enriched with rare duchess lace, and would have been declared the work of a first-rate French modiste, for the style, cut, and finish, even to the addition of a corded silk interior belt, upon which had been painted, in golden letters, 'The Misses Simple, Deuxième Étage, Winyah.' This is the finish which the young ladies attach to all their own dresses, and was also put on a very stylish reception dress of coppery brown silk and brocade, which rejoiced in quite original and extremely effective graceful kind of drapery. Drapery, in fact, is one of the 'Misses Simple's' strong points, and as adepts in this, and also for a certain nerve or force of individuality, in the ample but not too lavish use of magnificent fabrics, they might have called themselves the Misses Worth, without, in the least, discrediting the great artist in clothes.

"Experienced eyes can usually detect at once the 'home made' in a certain 'skimpiness' and lack of courage in the production of the finer and more artistic effects; but there are no evidences of the lack of trained skill in the 'Misses Simple's' dress-making; it is thorough in every respect.

"But the most interesting article which has assumed form under their clever manipulations was a morning dress of blue-gray wool. This will have an historic family significance, for the cloth was manufactured entirely by the bridegroom, and was the first piece begun and finished by himself, he having devoted five years after leaving college to fit himself as a manufacturer.

It was exquisitely embroidered in the new edelweiss pattern by the bride, and has been made up into a very handsome Watteau morning dress by the groom's sisters, the 'Misses Simple' of Winyah Park.

"The wedding will be a very fine affair; invitations have been sent to people of distinction in many different cities, and families on both sides occupying the highest social positions; but it is pleasant to know that back of all the pomp and circumstance is the substratum of old-fashioned virtues, which secures permanent happiness and prosperity.

"*En passant*, it may be remarked that the artistic talent of the young ladies is not confined to clothes; this is only one useful manifestation of it; their rooms are filled with lovely examples of art work in other directions, and they paint, embroider, or in some way make or decorate all the presents they give to friends. The eldest daughter, Carrie,—who was chiefly educated at the Bolton Priory of our city, so distinguished for its refinement,—is the housekeeper, and she furnishes frequent tests of her artistic as well as of her culinary skill and taste-dispensing hospitality. Another daughter, Agnes, has executed the most original and remarkable specimen of modern illumination that has ever been done in this country. It consists of a missal, a style of church prayer-book, set up to order, printed on vellum in antique text, and illuminated upon every page, after the style of the ancient missals, in designs drawn from the most interesting and various sources of European art, no two being alike, and each representing some distinctive epoch, age, country, school, or decorative natural object. The work occupied the leisure of three years, and the taste, skill, and judgment exhibited are rarely found in an artist, much less in an amateur, while the patience required

to work out with strength and delicacy the wonderful diversified yet chacteristic design is as marked as the power. Another daughter, Julia, was prepared by Miss Johnston,—now the distinguished classic teacher of her New Haven Female Academy,—and stood her examination with credit for the (Harvard) University in connection with her deceased brother Edmund, educated by the same talented governess for Columbia College, New York, where he entered with credit as a youth of but sixteen years of age. The colonel's youngest daughter, Ida, made a study of practical medicine, of great value to her in the discharge of her earnest duties to the indigent members of her church, to which she makes a pious specialty in and out of social life. His son, Richard, is an earnest business man, and manages his father's real estate in the city of New York and New Rochelle, but declines any nomination to public office, and is respected by all parties, social and political.

"The narration in this place of his domestic relations would be incomplete did it not give a proper mention of Miss Mary Johnston, now the proprietor of the classical school for young ladies in New Haven, under the patronage of Yale College, by whose industry and classical culture one of his sons, Edmund, was fitted for Columbia College, and his daughter Julia for Harvard. This lady, after twenty-one years of residence as governess in the colonel's family, retired to open her institution in her old home, New Haven. She is still regarded as one of the family, and at this writing is paying a vacation or summer visit to the family at 'Chicora Cottage,' in the Catskills.

"Colonel Lathers removed to New Rochelle in 1847 and purchased the property on the White Plains Road, which largely constitutes Winyah Park, in the city

limits, as well as a considerable portion of Pelhamville, and which he has, from time to time, added to in acreage. He has ever regarded this as the legal residence and home of himself and his family, however much he has established residences elsewhere in other States, for at one time he was qualified to exercise suffrage in Charleston, South Carolina, New York City, Berkshire, Massachusetts, and New Rochelle, occupying residences and owning real estate in each, and exercising all the duties and obligations of citizenship therein, except voting and jury duty, which were confined to New Rochelle, to which, at home or abroad, as he often remarks, 'I have always registered myself as a citizen.' The only office he ever held is that of vestryman and warden in Trinity Church, New Rochelle, a tenure of over half a century, and as a representative from that parish, for the same period, in the Annual Diocesan Convention for the State of New York.

"New Rochelle, at the period when Colonel Lathers established himself, had a population of six or seven hundred. The New Haven Railroad was then but excavating its line through the village, and New York was reached only by stages, or by the Harlem Railroad from Williams Bridge. The village of New Rochelle was, at that time, a favorite summer resort, and the Neptune House a fashionable hotel where some of the prominent families spent a few weeks enjoying the salt water, the social life, and the lovely surroundings, from West Chester to Rye, on the borders of the Sound, at prices which were not extravagant, either for country-seats or country subsistence.

"About this time, the Guion farm, of sixty or seventy acres, now West New Rochelle, was offered for sale, to close an estate, having a boundary on the north and east by the road, and on the west by Colonel Lathers's

property. It was offered to him for twelve thousand dollars, but he declined it, and then, to protect himself, offered eleven thousand dollars for it. A broker called on him and said, 'We are now offered twelve thousand dollars, but we do not like to sell without giving you the option, as your park will be severely affected by having a lot of Germans alongside of it.' Lathers asked what was the occupation of these people? It was replied, 'Some of them are clerks in shops, some are mechanics, and others are laborers.' Lathers then said, 'Then they all work for a living?' The broker said, 'I suppose they do.' To which Lathers added, 'And want a homestead? Mr. Broker, sell to them. I would prefer to have activity and industry for my neighbors, rather than poor gentlemen, who give great respectability to a place, but no progress, a misfortune at this time depressing the value of property in New Rochelle.' Colonel Lathers's judgment has been confirmed by the great increase in the value of property and the wonderful improvements in West New Rochelle. The taxable property of that little farm which sold for twelve thousand dollars is now, with improvements, worth hundreds of thousands, while an acre, then selling for one hundred and seventy dollars, is now worth five thousand dollars.

"Colonel Lathers opened up, at his own expense, Winyah Avenue, named after the bay fronting Georgetown, commencing at the North Road and running to Pelhamville. He opened up also Webster Avenue through his Winyah Park property, running south to the village, which enabled him to build and settle on Lathers's Hill. He built on this hill a brick and marble Italian villa as a residence for himself, from the design of Alexander J. Davis, the architect, who received for this Tuscan design the first architectural

prize at the New York World's Fair. This building was followed by a spacious mansion, designed by Mr. Renick, the architect of the Catholic Cathedral and of Grace Church, but was subsequently sold to Mr. Green, of New York, with a few acres of land forming a lovely park, recently burned. Colonel Lathers erected, or caused to be erected, the following residences on Lathers's Hill, West New Rochelle: That of Captain Luce, the Commander of the Steamer "Arctic;" Charles M. Thurston, who served as the first President of the village; Mr. Edmond Griffin, son of the distinguished New York lawyer; E. Rubira, a West Indian merchant; Mr. Hemingway, a New York banker; and Richard Lathers, Jr., John Ely, and Mr. Harrison, New York lawyers. Subsequently, Mr. Knapp and Major Bergholz added to that delightful little settlement the handsome villas which have increased so much the beauty and social value of that section of our city."

(From the *New Rochelle Pioneer*, Saturday, August 27, 1898.)

"EMPLOYER AND EMPLOYED.

"*Interesting Correspondence between Two of Our Oldest Citizens.*

"We print with great pleasure the following letters as an evidence that New Rochelle can produce in its moral atmosphere a favorable and striking evidence that capital and labor, employer and employed, may, for a third of a century, subsist in harmony and by mutual sympathy serve the highest interest of both. We earnestly commend this rare and valuable example to both classes of our community.

WINYAH PARK.

"'New Rochelle, January, 1898.

"'Colonel Richard Lathers:

"'My dear Sir,—It gives me the greatest pleasure to write you, offering you my congratulations on your good health this winter. This month marks the thirty-first anniversary of my entrance into your employment. I take this opportunity to thank you in writing for the kind consideration always shown both to my family and to myself during the past years.

"'Times and places have changed since I entered your employment, but I have always found you a kind employer, and good friends in you and your family.

"'When I entered your service my wife and myself constituted my family, but as time passed three sons and three daughters increased its size. Of these six, four are living, and two, I hope, are better off. The living children are all in position to do well in this world, thanks to the excellent opportunity given me to bring up my family on your place at Winyah Park, New Rochelle, at which place I lived in your service, as you will recollect, for over one-quarter of a century. A good salary and munificent presents from you and your family helped me to rear and educate my children and start them well in life; also to furnish the means which, with the assistance of my children, now grown up, have enabled me to provide a comfortable home.

"'Thus I feel grateful to you, not alone for the opportunity of earning a good living during these past years, but as time goes by and I reach the day, which seems to come to all of us, when I cannot do business through your aid, I have accumulated sufficient means and have no fears, thank God.

"'I hope, dear sir, you are enjoying good health, and that you will soon return, for it seems lonesome about the house without the presence of the master.

My family joins me in sending their best wishes to you and Miss Carrie.

"'From your humble and faithful servant,

"'JOHN CONLON.

"'NEW ROCHELLE, N. Y.'

"'ST. AUGUSTINE, FLA., March 3, 1898.

"'MR. JOHN CONLON,

"'New Rochelle, N. Y.:

"'MY DEAR JOHN,—It has been my good fortune during a long and active life, with occasional adverse criticisms, to receive many public and private commendations; but I have never received a kinder or one more appreciated than that in your affectionate letter to which this is a reply.

"'Perhaps it is rare that the relation which we have borne to each other as employer and employed for over thirty-two years of uninterrupted service and confidence, without the least break or estrangement, could be maintained in these times of unsympathetic relations between capital and labor.

"'But in our relations during that long period, industry, integrity, and loyalty have simply met with a hearty recognition of their great value to an employer, and New Rochelle as a residence well calculated to promote these amenities of social life.

"'There has been, indeed, a singular mutual regard as the families grew up together within a few rods of each other in Winyah Park,—which you still supervise for me,—the children of each born and reared on the same premises, and a mutual sympathy, the joys and sorrows incident to human life, and fortunately realizing the advantages of a home training which has procured them in their respective stations the respect of one another as well as of the public.

"'Your own manly letter, expressive of your gratitude to God for your success in life, is worthy of your impulse as a Christian.

"'May you long enjoy what you so properly appreciate, and fulfil your conservative duties as a citizen, which has already insured you the respect of your neighbors.

"'Please present my ardent well-wishes for your wife and children, so worthy of her training by their success in life, and, indeed, I may properly add, to which yourself may be grateful.

"'I am very truly yours,

"'RICHARD LATHERS.'

"Mr. Conlon has served a term, noted for his ability, as alderman of the city of New Rochelle, universally respected by all parties for his probity and efficiency, and at present he fills an important municipal office in that city, while still the trusted employee and agent, in 1901, for the property of Colonel Lathers in the city of New York, after thirty-four years of continuous service with his old employer.

"Colonel Lathers's public spirit still continues. He is opening up, at his own expense, and dedicating the land for a continuance of Washington Avenue through his West New Rochelle property, and thence to Pelhamville depot on the New Haven Railroad, for the accommodation of the people of West New Rochelle, in whom he has always taken an interest.

"He was the first and chief contributor to the capital for organizing the first public journal of our city, nearly fifty years ago."

DESCRIPTION OF A NEW ROCHELLE WEDDING.

(Copied from an editorial in *The Hour*, July 7, 1883.)

"CITY AND SUBURBAN WEDDINGS.

"Any one who can devise something new in the way of wedding festivities may depend upon the hearty support of many grateful communities, for the fashionable faculty for doing exactly as others do has made the social portions of city weddings as formal as the religious ceremonies that precede them; the only noticeable points of difference between one wedding and another being in the dresses of the bridesmaids and the flavors of the ices. To ladies an invitation may bring some mild excitement, in the way of devising toilettes for the occasion; but the masculine receiver of cards usually groans, for he knows that he must devote an hour or two to the highly refining social task of spoiling his digestion by a bad substitute for a comfortable dinner or a self-selected luncheon. In the days that men still young remember as the good old times, the monotony of city weddings was sometimes broken by an invitation to see a happy couple made one in the country, and to enjoy festivities appropriate to the locality, but nowadays city and country are alike in all that goes on indoors, and the wedding-breakfast, at two in the afternoon, fifty miles from New York, is served by a city caterer, from the china, glass, and silver from which the very same guests ate and drank at a city wedding the night before. A pleasing indication that not every one in the country has exchanged natural manners for city artificiality was offered at a wedding at New Rochelle, a few days ago,—namely, at that of Colonel Lathers's daughter Emma to the son of Bishop Simpson, of Pennsylvania, so that there was no lack of money to restrict formality and ostentation, but the

festivities were, nevertheless, entirely modest and appropriate to the surroundings of a rural home. The ceremony at the church was as simple as possible, according to the Episcopal ritual; the rector of the church, Rev. Charles F. Canedy, D.D., was not 'assisted' by any high dignitary nor by any one else, and the six bridesmaids, all rich and accomplished young ladies, were simply and inexpensively attired in white. The church was profusely decorated with flowers, but all these were peculiar to the season and the locality, not a single exotic being among them; daisies, ferns, and roses predominated, and over the bride's head hung an immense wreath of daisies, plucked from her father's own meadows.

"The guests numbered nearly a thousand; there were a dozen carriage-loads of fashionable people from the city, but the bride's father, loyal to the people among whom he had lived, saw to it that all of his old neighbors were invited, no matter if they happened to have less money than culture. As the house was two miles from the church, every carriage in the vicinity was pressed into the old colonel's hospitable service, and many ladies and gentlemen from the city did not hesitate to avail themselves of the ordinary railway stages. As the guests approached the home they did not behold two heavy closed doors; on the contrary, every door and window was wide open, and every one, on stepping from the carriages, was received on an immense veranda, gayly decorated with flowers, and as they entered the house they saw flowers in profusion on every table, mantel, bracket, and other place where flowers could be placed. There was no frantic struggling for refreshments; late-comers saw hundreds of people comfortably seated on the verandas and served with salads, strawberries, and ices. But to sit for a long time on

a pleasant veranda, commanding broad and beautiful views, or to lounge in cool parlors, was impossible while an immense and beautifully kept estate lay all about, so the grounds were soon dotted with visitors. Not far from the house, and in the grounds, lay a picturesque lake, knee deep, and in this stood half a dozen cows. Of course they could not have been specially posed for the occasion, yet several artists who were among the guests were wild to sketch them and their surroundings. Almost any city owner of a country place would have made sure, early in the morning, that all his cows were securely hidden in their respective sheds, but the host had the rare sense to believe that what had delighted his own eyes on many preceding days would not seem unsightly to his visitors. There were no posted warnings to keep off the grass, or to refrain from picking the flowers; every one did as he pleased, and those who enjoyed themselves most were those whose presence seemed most welcome to the family.

"The reception-hours were nominally from two to four, but all who attempted to depart were so heartily urged to remain that at six o'clock the grounds and house seemed still full, and when finally the guests from the city reached the railroad and whirled homeward, casting wistful eyes through the car windows at the hospitable mansion they had lately left, they agreed with one another that they had enjoyed an entirely new sensation in the way of wedding-feasts; they had no partialities, neglects, or slights to complain of; they had not been obliged to kill time by flirting a little, or drinking too much.

"Here is given a list of many of the institutions and clubs to which the colonel has been elected an honorary member: The Eleventh Army Corps of the United States; the Alumni of Williams College, Massachusetts;

and honorary vice-president of the South Carolina West Indian and International Exposition. He has also been elected to membership in the New England Society of Charleston; the New England Society of New York; Chamber of Commerce, Charleston; Chamber of Commerce, New York; St. George's Society of Charleston; St. Patrick Society of Charleston; New York Botanical Society; Union Club of New York; Lotus Club; New York Reform Club; Manhattan Club of New York; Marine Society of New York; Winyah Indigo Society, Georgetown, South Carolina; South Carolina Club, Charleston; Historical Society, Charleston; Twilight Club, New York; Mercantile Library Association of New York; American Institute, New York; National Academy of Design, New York; American Geographical Society, New York; Metropolitan Museum, New York; American Scientific and Historical Society; Museum Natural Sciences of New York; and he is one of the originators of the Bank of the Republic, the Guaranty and Indemnity Company of New York, and the People's Bank, Charleston."

DEATH OF PRESIDENT M'KINLEY.

SUNDAY, September 15, 1901.

As already related in these "Notes," it was customary for the cottagers and the guests at the several hotels in the vicinity of Twilight Park to assemble every Sunday evening during the summer in the rooms of the "Chicora Cottage" for one hour to sing the psalms and hymns of their respective churches. September 15 was the last evening of the season, terminating the tenth year of this social and pious gathering.

After singing two or three hymns, Colonel Lathers rose and said, "Ladies and gentlemen, to-night closes the tenth year of these meetings. Before closing, I

desire in behalf of myself and my family to express the pleasure which we have derived from these gatherings, both during this season and also for the past ten years.

"It has proved to be a unique and pious assembly without a single disagreeable incident to mar a harmony rarely maintained for so long a period of volunteer musical entertainment.

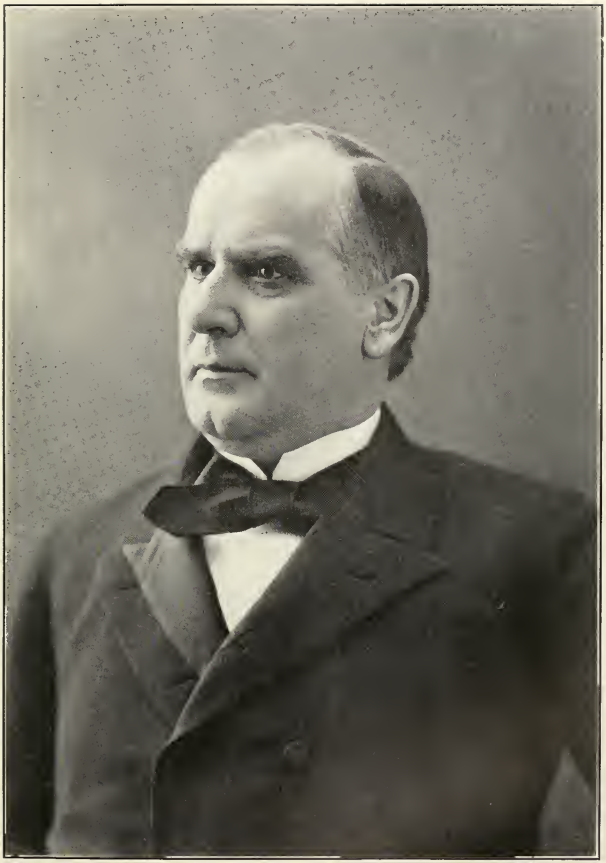
"But to-night we are called upon, in common with our whole country, to mourn the loss by wicked assassination, of our beloved President, and to contemplate with deep humiliation an atrocious crime which has disgraced our national history by its recurrence three times within thirty-six years, in an age of Christian civilization and under the government of a free republic.

"President Lincoln died at twenty-two minutes after seven o'clock on the morning of Saturday, April 15, 1865. He was shot by John Wilkes Booth.

"President James A. Garfield died on Monday, September 19, 1881, at thirty-five minutes after ten in the evening. He was shot by Charles J. Guiteau.

"President McKinley died on Saturday, September 14, 1901, at fifteen minutes after two in the morning. He was shot by Leon Czolgosz.

"It was among the painful experiences of my long and active life to have participated in these three national sorrows, having made the address before the Tammany Society of New York, in 1865, on the death of President Lincoln, which address was also repeated later in New Rochelle. I also acted as one of the committee in London, in connection with the American Minister there, in organizing the large meeting of Americans and Englishmen in sorrowing sympathy with our great national bereavement by the



WILLIAM McKINLEY.

death of President Garfield, in 1881; and again now in calling you together to listen to our distinguished fellow-cottager, the Right Rev. Henry Y. Satterlee, Bishop of Washington, to whom we expected to listen in his wise, patriotic, and pious consolations under this our great national and personal affliction. But a telegram was received this afternoon peremptorily calling him to Washington to engage in an official participation pending the funeral services of the President.

"I now read you the Bishop's excellent letter, followed by a short extract from prayers adapted for the occasion by Bishop Potter, of the Diocese of New York.

"'My dear Colonel Lathers,—I have just received word from Washington which obliges me to leave on to-night's boat. To my deep regret this will prevent my coming to your house to-night. To express what we all feel so deeply in these sad days is simply impossible. This dumb shaken feeling which pervades the country brings back vividly the days of the assassination of Abraham Lincoln. Our beloved President will ever be associated with that martyr. Their lives and works were different, but their aim was the same.

"'Faithfully yours,

"'Henry Y. Satterlee.'

"'O Almighty God, the Supreme Governor of all things, whose power no creature is able to resist, to whom it justly belongs to punish sinners, and to be merciful to those who truly repent, save and deliver this land, we beseech Thee, from all false teaching and from all secret foes, and grant that this, Thy people, being armed with the weapons of truth and righteousness, may drive from hence all lawless men and all treasonable fellowships, and so preserve the heritage

of their fathers to be the home of a God-fearing nation, ever doing Thy holy will, to the glory of Thy holy name, through Jesus Christ, our Lord. Amen.'

"'O merciful God and Heavenly Father, who hast taught us in Thy Holy Word that Thou dost not willingly afflict or grieve the children of men, look with pity, we beseech Thee, upon the sorrow and shame of our common country, stained and dishonored by the murder of its Chief Magistrate. Remember us, O Lord, in mercy, sanctify this sore chastisement to our greater good; dispel our ignorance; arouse us from our indifference; enlighten us by Thy Holy Spirit, and so lift up Thy countenance upon us and give us peace. Grant to her, who by this sorrow has been most of all bereaved, that she, walking by faith, may see Thy light in all her darkness, and at last, having served Thee with consistency on earth, may be joined hereafter with Thy blessed saints in glory everlasting. Amen.'

"This letter of Bishop Satterlee and the prayers of Bishop Potter form a composition far more appropriate than anything I could venture to add on this painful and solemn occasion.

"And now, ladies and gentlemen, neighbors and friends, in deep sympathy with one another and with the country in its bereavement, I bid you good-night."

Colonel Lathers says, with regard to the material which he has gathered for his "Memoirs,"—

"These notes were originated by relating the incidents of a banquet, given sixty years ago (January, 1841), in honor of Martin Van Buren's visit to Georgetown, South Carolina, on his retiring from the office of the Presidency of the United States, then having a population of but seventeen millions, and they now close on

BISHOP POTTER.

the death of President McKinley, September, 1901, with a population of eighty-seven millions, embracing a period of great versatility of fortune, good and evil,—civil war and reconstruction at home; a successful but causeless war with Spain, by which we despoiled that nation and annexed to our own territory some twelve millions of her subjects, chiefly lying on the opposite side of our globe, a barbarous race utterly without habits or sympathy with our civilization, worthy, perhaps, of the practices and ambitions of Alexander the Great or the conquering Cæsar of Imperial Rome, but placing us in a line with the great conquerors of the earth,—the lessons of Washington and the maxims of the early fathers of our Republic thus absolutely ignored, while we are yet enjoying the blessings which their conservative wisdom enabled us to attain among the nations of the earth, as attested by the following:

"THE SUPREMACY OF THE UNITED STATES.

"A remarkable tribute to the tremendous energy displayed by the United States in every field of endeavor which makes nations resourceful, powerful, and invincible is to be found in a lengthy and exhaustive review of American progress in a recent issue of the *London Telegraph*. If the survey had been made by an American writer it would have been arraigned as too laudatory. Coming from a country which is one of our most powerful industrial rivals, the deliverance of the *London Telegraph* has something of the force of the testimony of an unwilling witness, though its confession of American superiority in many directions is frank and unreserved.

"With this foreign acknowledgment of all that makes for national glory, we must remember the cautionary words of a distinguished English jurist, 'The price of

liberty is eternal vigilance;' and of a wise English poet,—

> "'For forms of government let fools contest;
> Whate'er is *best administer'd* is best.'

"The *Telegraph* declared that the United States has attained the highest level of average prosperity ever known. The commercial strength of the country is to-day 'more invulnerable at home and more irresistible abroad than that of any other nation.' The writer goes so far as to say that no external enemy can ever break 'the main-springs of American power and trade.' England must import her food, her ore, and her raw cotton; to be cut off from them would be ruinous, but to America 'foreign trade is not and never can be the matter of life and death that it is to us. She can dispense with the world in case of absolute need. She is the greatest producer of food and raw material, as well as the possessor of the most efficient manufacturing apparatus, the most consummate organizing ability, the most numerous and energetic population, among all commercial states. Her political security is even more complete than ours ever was. There is not a single factor of economic activity in which she may not reasonably expect to excel any rival.'

"The writer sees here scrupulous economy in exploiting material. The youthfulness of the men in high positions of trust in the United States astonishes Englishmen. In 'the trusts' the writer discovers evidence of the American facility for organization on a formidable scale. 'Everything suggests that America has been accumulating capital more rapidly than any other nation.'

"The supremacy of the United States is a factor of the peace of Europe. The *Telegraph* makes this clear in these words: 'The certainty that European convul-

sions would transfer European trade to the United States promises to be the greatest of all guarantees of international peace.'

"It is, however, humiliating to the thoughtful citizens, and, indeed, it seems incredible, that in the peaceful enjoyment of every advantage afforded by a free and equal government, enjoying every form of progress in individual as well as in national life, which our Christian civilization and enterprise afford and instil, by our free schools, universities, and churches, the heinous and barbarous crime of murder by assassination could have been perpetrated, sacrificing the valuable lives of three of our Presidents within the short period of thirty-six years, and that, too, without the allegation of a single grievance or crime against them.

"President McKinley presents a high type of patriotism as a ruler in his life, and of heroism and fortitude in his death,—a noble example of Christian statesmanship, worthy of his high calling and of our country. Virtue and public spirit are the exponents of a republican representative government. The Roman republic, our great predecessor in wealth, power, and national distinction, ultimately fell by a disregard of its organic laws, in the pursuit of individual wealth and national power absorbing public attention and disregarding public effort. The Medician wealth of Florence and the large accumulation of such unrestrained corrupt power in other Italian republics found the usual fate where public virtue had lost its influence. It may be profitably considered in these days of gigantic unrestrained corporate trusts on the one hand, and the corrupt machine nominations of municipal combinations on the other, at a time, too, when the conservative element of the country has retired virtually from the duties of citizenship. Happily we need no

invention of theory or practice to avoid these evils so prominent in the subversion of the classic republic, or by which to govern ourselves, as becomes a representative republic of modern times.

"Our Federal Constitution, over one hundred years without revisal, as an organic law, is, perhaps, the perfection of human machinery. But, like all human contrivance, to be successful, must be operated in all its parts with strict reference to their respective purposes, and to be effectual as a government 'for the people,' must be operated 'by the people,' not only at the polls, but in nominating conventions and in every relation where the people's interests are included. Thomas Jefferson, the author of our great charter of liberty, the Declaration of Independence, has emphasized for us the admonition that 'the price of liberty is eternal vigilance,' and no free republic has ever survived the neglect of this duty of citizenship.

"Despite this obvious duty, our conservative and influential citizens have practically retired from the direction of public affairs in this empire city of our country, New York, and they are now wholly and indisputably under the control and direction of machine politicians, especially in our large cities, like New York and Philadelphia, who are as ignorant of the laws and duties of political economy as they are of personal integrity, but they possess the quality which our conservative citizens lack,—a unity of purpose. The machine politicians enjoy the cohesive power of public plunder, which defies the temporary obstruction which our citizens' reform organizations occasionally institute, because the citizens' reform movements are always betrayed by partisan policy and the cowardice of our wealthy citizens, when menaced by special taxation on their property and legislation on their corporate privileges.

"It is an instructive fact to mark how few of our large capitalists are active in our present public-spirited reform movements to place honest men in the direction of our affairs in New York.

"Bryan uttered a flattering compliment, while receiving the plaudits and hearty support of his partisans of Tammany Hall as candidate for the Presidency of the United States, when he declared, with enthusiasm, 'Great is Tammany, and Croker is its Prophet.' This was no casual remark, but a real substantial sentiment of his followers, and practically realized by the taxpayers of New York to this day, notwithstanding that their candidate was defeated in the federal contest.

"In Mr. Breen's admirable 'Thirty Years of New York Police' we have graphically set before us the source of power by which the New York boss controls the affairs of that city: 'Every one of the thirty-five Assembly District leaders in the city of New York, with possibly a few exceptions, holds an important public office at the hands of Croker. These positions are for a term of years. Each of these leaders is the distributor of a large amount of patronage, always, however, with the approval of the Boss. There is not one who has the ability, even if he had the courage, to inaugurate a movement against despotic dictation. Instead, they vie with each other in showing their homage and abject subserviency to their chief, in season and out of season. Inflated and pompous as most of them are among their own followers in their respective districts, where they imitate in a circumscribed way the arbitrary manner and conduct of their Boss in chief, yet when they come into the presence of Croker they are changed men,—they bow and simper; they look affable, they smile; they would not attempt to demand anything as a right; they would not dare to

object to anything as a wrong; they whisper, they beg, they entreat. After this subjugation of their manhood they return to their District Clubs with overbearing manners and discourse with great nonchalance of what they said to Croker and how they argued with him, and spoke up to him, and brought him around to their way of thinking. All the while the attendant subordinate place-holders beam with delight at their recitals, and with many nods and other tokens of emphasis indicate their admiration of the courage and cleverness of their leaders.'

"The political boss of New York is an original genius, a perfect specimen of a machine politician, and a product of the vicious and speculative atmosphere through which our political history is now passing. He is the immediate successor and friend in party tactics of Boss Tweed, who expiated his robbery of the city treasury by death in a felon's prison. Both of these bosses were of the humblest origin, rose and became notorious as leaders of gangs of roughs, which were a terror to the wards in which they claimed to regulate the election contests of their favorite candidates.

"At one of these political battles, in which Croker was a leader of one of the factions, a man was shot, and Croker was arrested and tried for the murder. The testimony was conflicting, as in all such cases, and the jury was unable to agree on a verdict; and subsequently, after a period in jail, awaiting another trial, he was discharged, giving him properly the benefit of the doubt. This trial for his life, and the fate of Tweed, his predecessor, who died in a felon's prison but a few years ago, alarmed him; he measurably reformed and became a cautious political leader in his ward. Retiring from his honest occupation as an assistant in

a blacksmith's shop, he soon rose to distinction and political influence, and ultimately to a leadership in Tammany, and thence to great wealth and political power, as the absolute ruler and the disposer of emoluments and offices of the city of New York. Developing a love for the English life and its sports of the field and race-course, he purchased an estate near London, where he chiefly resides, a tax-paying English citizen and a leader among the sporting men of London. Unlike Tweed, his manners were soft, conciliatory, and reticent, as he emerged from the grosser companionship of his early life, sobered, no doubt, by the fate of his criminal predecessor and his own narrow escape from a felon's death. He is a prominent specimen of a rising class of politicians in New York and in cities where municipal wealth is in the custody and direction of partisan officials, unrestrained by the proper supervision of the tax-payers, and where municipal and State legislation is generally a method of political influence and too often of purchase. The activity of Croker and his party in the financial distribution of municipal contracts, and his sudden accumulation of great wealth without any obvious means of honest acquirement has induced legislative investigation connected with growing public frauds in the city of New York. This commission put him on the stand, but nothing has ever been legally proved adverse to his personal honesty, and his ingenious and comprehensive reply to the questions coming home to him is worthy of his astuteness,—'private business,' by which he has been able to evade the most searching investigation, while he has openly avowed that he '*works for his own pocket.*' His capacity for public life, while devoting a great deal of his time to horse-racing among the English sporting men, is demonstrated by

the facility with which he discharges his administration duties, as Boss and dictator, to the city of New York, chiefly by means of instructions to his following in that city, and through special delegations sent to take orders; for no appointments to office or nomination of candidates, or removals from office, are made but by his direction. No monarch has ever had so loyal and efficient an army of retainers, from the mayor of the city down to the humblest official or the ward politician; he is a 'monarch of all he surveys, his power there is none to dispute.' The rule of Tammany in New York offers a study for statesmen. It is a united and disciplined organization, far beyond anything known to modern times. Its members, embracing many thousand earnest voters, organized in various sections of the city, active partisans reaching down to the lowest strata of our foreign-born citizens, are all under strictest discipline as to voting and attendance at all gatherings where Tammany has an interest, and, as already remarked, they are held together by the cohesive power of public plunder, derived from the various sources of public patronage, blackmail levied by the police on gambling, drinking-saloons, and brothels, systematically collected and distributed, with the skill and experience which custom has established, and beyond modification by the humblest beneficiary.

"Much space has been given in all our journals to the evils of Tammany rule and the wonderful man who guides it, because he is the creation of the times. It is important that it should be depicted in these notes. For all this there is a remedy at hand, and as the country survived the Civil War, the frauds and spoliation by the carpet-bag government of the South, the robbery of public funds by Tweed, and the assassination of our Presidents, so it will survive the fraud

and misrule of Tammany Hall; but the sooner the citizen wakes up and determines that New York can be safely governed at home by its own intelligent, honest, and public-spirited citizens, and not by a partisan machine boss residing in England, the sooner we may again claim the dignity of American freemen, and justify the complimentary article of the English journalist just quoted."

The compiler of this biography, according to his plan of drawing on the public press, cannot resist giving the following notice of Colonel Lathers, copied from a journal published in his old home in South Carolina, November, 1901, showing that he is not forgotten even by the lapse of over a half-century.

"The *Outlook* of Georgetown, South Carolina, in an article about the history of that place, has the following kind words in relation to our old friend and New Rochelle's old time resident and well-wisher:

"'To Richard Lathers—1842–1848—the credit is certainly due for the improved fire construction alluded to. A new departure for the time, from old and faulty methods.

"'Colonel Lathers was at that period a leader among the business men of the town. Gifted with sagacity to a superior degree, possessing a mind that was remarkable for penetration and discernment, he had added to it great power of analysis, together with a command of language above the average. This enabled him to formulate from a mass of incongruous facts hypotheses that were thoroughly practical and to present them so clearly that conviction followed with inevitable result. He married in 1847 a New York lady and left here in 1848. Taking up his residence in New York,

he became prominent in business and in politics. He is still living at a ripe old age in the city of New York.'"

And also the following letters:

"PINE FOREST INN, SUMMERVILLE, SOUTH CAROLINA,
"October 30, 1901.

"COLONEL RICHARD LATHERS:

"MY DEAR SIR,—I take much pleasure in once more addressing you from this delightful place, which I again find so much enlarged and improved that I feel almost a stranger in a new place. I am quite surprised that so much has been done during the summer, especially with the day and night labors of Captain Wagener with the Exposition, which I am sure you will be pleased to learn is now an assured success, and will be a great attraction for Southern tourists and visitors the coming winter. The buildings and grounds already present a fine appearance, and it is surprising what has been accomplished with so small an amount of money.

"Captain Wagener has surpassed his former self in overcoming all obstacles, physical and financial, and has established his name and labors for all time in Charleston. I have greatly feared that he might break down under the constant prolonged pressure, but I find him in fine health and spirits, as is also Mrs. Wagener, who is here with her servants settling and arranging the interior of the hotel.

"I hope this note will find you in improved health and comfort, and that you are planning for your usual winter visit to your native State. If you do come, be assured of a welcome here, also Miss Lathers.

"Captain and Mrs. Wagener desire me to extend their kindest regards to you both, to which allow me to add my own.

"Very truly yours,

"PETER LOW HYDE.

"Please say to Miss Lathers that the golf links have been enlarged to eighteen holes, and will be in fine condition. We hope to be ready to open November 20. We would much like to know of your present health if convenient."

"PINE FOREST INN, SUMMERVILLE, SOUTH CAROLINA,
"November 20, 1901.

"COLONEL RICHARD LATHERS:

"MY DEAR SIR,—Your very kind and gracious favor of the 12th came duly, and I give it a prompt acknowledgment to assure you of the pleasure it gave us all to learn again of your health and welfare, and the prospect of seeing you here the coming winter.

"I send you—also Miss Lathers—the kindest remembrances of Captain and Mrs. Wagener, their nephew Julius Koster, and my own, and with the hope that we may see you here during the winter.

"Very truly yours,

(Signed) "PETER L. HYDE.

"P. S.—Captain Wagener, as president of the South Carolina and West Indian Exposition, went to Washington to invite the President and his Cabinet to the Exposition. He met a kind reception, and they are to come on Lincoln's Birthday, and it will be a great pleasure to have you here at that time as honorary vice-president, if you can manage for it, as the captain will entertain them here. He has also had a glass-enclosed stage built, so that there will be no exposure to the weather to and from the railroad station.

"Mr. Chauncey Depew is to make the Exposition opening address. Mr. and Mrs. Stone, of Duluth, are here, though the house is not open. They inquired very especially for you."

The above postscript and the following letter refer to the proposed celebration of the opening in Charleston, South Carolina, by the President and his Cabinet, of Public Farm in that city on the coming Lincoln day, 1902.

"No. 52 Wall Street, New York,
"November 26, 1901.

"My dear Mr. Lathers,—I have your very kind note notifying me to attend the opening of the Southern and West Indian Exposition on the 12th day of February next, the birthday of Mr. Lincoln, and to meet on that occasion the President and the Cabinet, who have accepted an invitation to attend. Nothing would have given me greater pleasure than to accept your cordial invitation, but I regret to say that I shall have already returned to England at that time, and am therefore compelled, with great reluctance, to decline it, and I beg you to extend to Captain Wagener, the president of the Exposition, my thanks and regrets.

"It was delightful to me to receive a letter from so old and valued a friend as yourself, and to that know you are still engaged in active service and interested, as you always were, in public affairs. Should you be in New York at any time between now and New Years, it will give me the greatest pleasure to see you.

"Yours very truly,
(Signed) "Joseph H. Choate,
"*American Minister to Great Britain.*

"Colonel Richard Lathers,
"248 Central Park, W., New York."

And here this biography came to an end.

(From the *New Rochelle Press*, official city paper, Saturday, November 23, 1901.)

"REV. DR. CANEDY'S SILVER JUBILEE.

"A GREAT OVATION.

"A great success socially was the reception given in Trinity Parish House, Tuesday evening, to Rev. Charles F. Canedy, D.D., rector of Trinity Episcopal Church, on the occasion of the twenty-fifth anniversary of the beginning of Dr. Canedy's rectorship. The affair proved a grand ovation to the popular rector, and it was as deserved as it was pronounced. The church parlors were crowded to their fullest capacity. The best-known people in society were represented among those who had gathered to do honor to the guest of the evening. People who had never appeared before at any function of the church were there to make this occasion a success, and remained long after the hour appointed for departure.

"The floral decorations were most elaborate, and were contributed by friends.

"Members of the vestry assisted Dr. Canedy in receiving guests.

"At the appointed time, Bishop Potter's appearance upon the rostrum was taken as a signal that something really good was in store for everybody, especially Dr. Canedy. The Bishop was at his best, and his 'talk' was full of richness. What he said was humorously rendered and in keeping with the merriment of the hour. The few words by which he conveyed to Rector Canedy a 'stout-looking' wallet, containing $1000, the gift of generous parishioners, were doubtless words of much enjoyment to the recipient. When next the Bishop brought forth a large silver 'loving cup' and

made the rector not only a cup-bearer but also a cup-owner, the rector's joy was, apparently, boundless; the rector's happiness was contagious, everybody rejoiced with him.

"The loving cup bears the following inscription:

"'Presented to
Rev. Charles Fobes Canedy, D.D.,
by
Richard Lathers,
Senior Warden, 50 years,
of Trinity Church, New Rochelle,
on the twenty-fifth anniversary
of his Rectorship,
All Saint's Day,
1901.'

"Dr. Canedy, overcome by many evidences of kindness, expressed his thanks. He referred briefly to the church's history and the men who had been associated with such history.

"Refreshments were served most bountifully, under charge of a committee of ladies composed of the officers of the various societies of the church. The members of the Girls' Friendly Society, with some of the young ladies of the parish, served the refreshments.

"Members of the vestry present were L. D. Huntington, Sr., N. D. Thorne, Dallas Backe Pratt, B. Dunbar Wright, and John W. Boothby.

"The senior warden, Colonel Richard Lathers, who has served this church faithfully for fifty-two years, was unable to be present owing to illness. Though not in body, he was present in spirit, and sent the following letter:

"'248 Central Park, West, New York,
"'November 19, 1901.

"'Lawrence Huntington, Esquire,
"'Junior Warden, Trinity Church, New Rochelle:

"'My dear Mr. Huntington,—Confined to my room by indisposition, I shall be unable to personally participate in the celebration of the twenty-fifth anniversary of our rector's capable, useful, and zealous administration of his high office. I have therefore to solicit your good offices as a warden of the church to present on that occasion to our rector the vase herewith sent to you as an expression of the affectionate regard of myself and my family, and indicating the esteem of the vestry and the parish, with our prayers for a long extension of his useful life and that of his family.

"'I am yours very truly,
"'Richard Lathers,
"'*Senior Warden, Trinity Church, New Rochelle.*'"

"Eleventh Army Corps Association,
"New York, November 8, 1901.

"To the Members of the Eleventh Army Corps Association:

"Comrades,—The Annual Banquet of our Association will take place at the Fifth Avenue Hotel, New York City, on Saturday, December 14, 1901, at half-past seven o'clock P.M.

"The regular Annual Meeting of the Association will be held at the same place, at half-past six o'clock.

"The tickets for the Banquet ($1.50, wine not included) may be obtained from Members of the Banquet Committee as follows: General John T. Lockman, 88 Nassau Street; General L. P. di Cesnola, Metropolitan Museum of Art, Fifth Avenue and Eighty-second Street; and Major Louis Leubuscher, the Treasurer of the Association, 76 Nassau Street.

"Each Member of the Association has the privilege of inviting guests, at the regular rate.

"An early reply is desired, so as to enable the Committee to make the necessary arrangements for the Banquet.

"ORLAND SMITH,
"*President.*

"F. IRSCH, *Secretary*,
"1 Old Slip, New York City.

"Members may attend in the uniform of the G. A. R."

(From the *World*, December 24, 1901.)

"'JENNIE JUNE' CROLY IS DEAD AT THREESCORE AND TWELVE.

"Mrs. 'Jennie June' Croly, 'mother of clubs,' died yesterday noon at No. 128 West Forty-third Street, after a long illness. Though her condition had for some time been serious, the end came suddenly.

"The woman who had done so much for women had none around when she died except a trained nurse.

"Since her return from Europe, something over two months ago, Mrs. Croly's health had been steadily failing. Her last appearance at Sorosis, which she founded nearly thirty-four years ago, was early in November. She had an attack of heart failure there and was carried home. Death came just four days after her seventy-second birthday.

"Her son, Herbert Croly, did not reach her bedside until her death. The body was taken to his home, No. 521 West Twenty-first Street, last night. The funeral will be held at 10.30 Thursday morning at the Church of the Transfiguration. The interment will be at Lakewood, New Jersey.

"Mrs. Croly was born in Market Harborough,

Leicestershire, England, and came to this country with her parents when a child. At ten years of age she had already begun writing plays and stories. Her first work for the press was accepted by Charles A. Dana, then managing editor of the *Tribune*. She was the pioneer newspaper woman, and served on many papers in many capacities during her forty-five years of activity. Her husband, David G. Croly, was managing editor of the *World*, and for twelve years Mrs. Croly herself was identified with the *World*.

"Mrs. Croly was the first acting President of Sorosis, the first woman's club in this country. She promoted the federation of clubs, and was virtually 'mother' of the vast body of organized womanhood which now stretches over the length and breadth of the land.

"Recently, Sorosis, as a memorial to its founder, established a fund to provide an annuity for her.

"At the celebration of her seventieth birthday by the clubs of the city these lines by Mrs. Fanny H. Carpenter were read:

> "'To Jennie June Croly we drink
> On the day she is threescore and ten;
> Oh, what is she like, do you think?
> Like a page written o'er with Lover's ink,
> Every letter a kindness. Again
> To Jennie June Croly we drink.'

"Sorosis will abandon its January social as a mark of respect. The Woman's Press Club, of which Mrs. Croly was president, will likewise give up its Saturday reception.

"All clubdom will be represented at the funeral.

"A son and two daughters—Mrs. Philip Mathot, of New York, and Mrs. Frederick Sydney, of London—survive her."

Following is a catalogue of works of art, the collection of many years by Richard Lathers, now (1901) at Winyah Park, New Rochelle, and at his city residence, 248 Central Park, West.

The modern original paintings, as well as copies of the old masters, were all painted from time to time by his order by select artists of merit and reputation in Rome, Florence, Milan, Antwerp, London, Paris, and New York.

These works were procured from year to year as educational for his family, and to decorate his home, to gratify his personal taste, rather than for display or fashionable competition of rare specimens of pictorial gems.

MARBLE STATUES.

Judith, by Tadolini, of Rome.

The Lost Pleiad, by Randolph Rogers, United States.

TERRA-COTTA STATUES, SEVRES TABLES, AND VASES.

Columbus and America, modelled for the Exposition at Milan, Italy.

Sevres table, with portraits of the beauties of the Court of Henry IV. of France.

Sevres table, with portraits of the beauties of the Court of Louis XVI. of France.

Two large bronze vases of the sixteenth century.

Two large bronze Japanese vases (high relief).

Two majolica vases of the fourteenth century.

Eight copies of Etruscan and Greek vases from Pompeii.

ORIGINAL PAINTINGS.

Italian, Giordano, Florence.

Roman Forum, La Volpe, Rome.

Ruins of Pompeii, La Volpe, Rome.

Storm, Claude Joseph Verner, France, marine painter to Louis XIV.

Calm, Claude Joseph Verner, France, marine painter to Louis XIV.

Italian Lake (1680), Von Heusch, Germany.

Italian Lake (1680), Von Heusch, Germany.

Rebecca at the well (1805), Richard Wilson, England.

Rebecca setting out (1805), Richard Wilson, England.

Bath of Venus, Marko, Florence.

Bay and City of Venice (1868), Longi Querena, Venice.

Interior of St. Marks (1871), Longi Querena, Venice.

Senate Chamber, Venice (1871), Longi Querena, Venice.

Angelica and Medora, Carter, Rome.

Carnival at Rome, DeVeder, Rome.

Sorrento, Italy, A. La Volpe, Florence.

St. George's Island, Venice, by moonlight, Elbrait, Rome.

Fruit-piece (1630), Antonio Spadarino.

Roman Ruins (1678), Viviani, Rome.

Roman Ruins (1678), Viviani, Rome.

Rape of Europe, F. Costa, Florence.

The Sibyl (1680), Guido Cagnacci.

View of the Pope's Garden (1868), Grovanini.

Convent of Zubraco by moonlight, Ciccolini, Rome.

Chamounix, Switzerland, E. Hottenroth, Rome.

Jung Frau, E. Hottenroth, Rome.

Girl and sheep, Malone, Rome.

Boy and goats, Malone, Rome.

Cattle grazing on the Compagna, Malone, Rome.

Ruins at Taormina, La Volpe, Florence.

Lake of Lucerne, Swiss artist.

Bay of Naples, Emmons, United States.

Rome at sunset, Emmons, United States.

Portrait of Mrs. Lathers, Emmons, United States.

Portrait of Mr. Huger, of Charleston, Emmons, United States.

Portrait of himself, Emmons, United States.

Portrait of a lady, Emmons, United States.

Mount Hood, Oregon, Miss Robinson, Boston.

Dutch peasants telling fortunes, Vennerman, Antwerp.

Cascades and town of Tivoli, F. Knebel, Rome.

Lake Albano, Italy, F. Knebel, Rome.

Lake George, New York, Barrow, New York.

Abby Lodge, Berkshire, Barrow, New York.

Landscape and waterfall (1646), Pandolfo Reschi.

The Pianist, Candida, Florence.

Embarkation of a naval expedition at Genoa (1624), Helmbercker.

Long Island Sound, Silva, New York.

Genius of music, purchased in Italy by Washington Allston.

Villa at Winyah Park, A. J. Davis, New York.

Portrait of R. Lathers (1871), Daniel Huntington.

Italian girl, Mrs. Carson, of Charleston, South Carolina, painted in Florence.

Portrait of a Virginia lady, by herself.

Portrait of a gentleman, G. H. Story, New York.

Library at Winyah Park, G. H. Story, New York.

Archery Party, Berkshire, G. H. Story, New York.

View of Westerly, T. A. Richards.

View of the Mississippi, Thomas Allen, Boston.

Island of Sark, Sukers, London.

The fête day, by Ricci.

Tasso entering the Convent of St. Onofrio, Fanfani, Rome.

A study of game, Mencei, Rome.

New York harbor, Centennial picture, E. Moran, New York.

New York one hundred years ago, E. Moran, New York.

Studio and portrait of the artist, E. Moran, New York.

Marine view, Hawley, Florence.

Bay of New York sixty years ago, R. Lathers.

The concert, Mattini, Rome.

Garrick between tragedy and comedy, after Reynolds, Emmons.

An architectural perspective study of buildings, designed and painted sixty years ago, R. Lathers.

COPIES.

Poetry, Sirani, Rome.

The Transfiguration, Raphael, copied under direction of Cardinal Antonelli, Rome.

Madonna of the chair, Raphael.

Interior of St. Peters, Rome, Panini, Rome.

Interior of a palace, Panini, Rome.

Cattle, after Troyon, copied by Miss Adams, of Boston, at Rome.

Orpheus, Poussin, copied by Bracony, Paris.

Literature dispelling ignorance, an amateur.

Albanese belle, Riedel, Germany.

St. Cecilia, Romanelli, Rome.

The loves, Corregio.

The Nativity, Battony.

Vanity, Paul Veronese.

The Magdaleine, Corregio.

Diana and nymphs, Domenichino.

Last communion of St. Jerome, Domenichino.

Holy family, Murillo.

Immaculate conception, Murillo.

Sistine Madonna, Raphael.
Hope, Greuze.
Bella Donna, Greuze.
Madame LeBrun, by herself.
Angelica Kaufman, by herself.
Sir Joshua Reynolds, by himself.
View of Genoa, Claude Lorrain.
View of Medici palace, Claude Lorrain.
Landscape, Claude Lorrain.
Mater Dolorosa, Sassafarato.
St. Teresa interceding for souls in Purgatory, after Rubens, Felu.
Studio of Raphael with portraits.
Linda di Chamounix, Ferrar.
Iris, Guido Head.
Italian harbor, Salvatore Rosa.
Falls of Terni, Tierce.
Magdaleine, Chiari.
Landscape, Van Bloemen.
Landscape, Van Bloemen.
Venice, Caneletto.
Diana, Gatti.
The studio, Frans Van Mieris.
Hector reproving Paris, Pisano.

RARE ENGRAVINGS IN FRAMES.

Limelin (1600), Albert Dürer (1507), Paul Pontius (1596), Bolswert, John Brown (1729), Raphael Morghen, Gimlin (1708), Piranesi, Bake (1769), Preisler (1757), Panini, Bartolozzi, Fontana, Watson (1750), Steinler, Burke (1750), Lerpincere, Volpato, Le Brun, Hamilton, Bouillard, Main, Blanchard, Sartain, Alozzio, Sharpe, Morel, Simmons, Rolls, Bettelini, Consias, Shelton, Strange, Roger, Townley, Emelin, Turner, Vevaris, Landseer, Woollett, Jananin.

APPENDIX

AN APPEAL TO THE SOUTH

ADDRESS TO PRESIDENT GRANT

SPEECH IN REPLY TO HON. CHAUNCEY M. DEPEW

WOMAN AND HER RELATIONS TO SOCIETY

LETTER TO THE NEW YORK CHURCHMAN

AN APPEAL TO THE SOUTH.

PROCEEDINGS OF A UNION MEETING HELD IN NEW YORK CITY, DECEMBER 15, 1860.

A MEETING of many of the prominent gentlemen of this city, merchants and others, was held at the office of a gentleman in Pine Street, yesterday, for the purpose of consultation and counsel with a view to the adoption of such measures as would tend to restore peace and harmony to our distracted country. The meeting was held in a large room of the new building, 32 Pine Street, opposite the office of Mr. Lathers, where it was originally designed to take place. The apartment was crowded to its utmost capacity, and yet the meeting was exceedingly select and comparatively private in its character, no person being admitted except the gentlemen to whom the following note of invitation had been addressed:

NEW YORK, December 10, 1860.

DEAR SIR,—The undersigned, deeming it the duty of all patriotic citizens, in a crisis like the present, to do what they can to provide a way of escape from the calamities which threaten us,—not to say are already upon us,—respectfully request you to meet a number of other gentlemen, to whom this circular will be sent, at the office of Richard Lathers, 33 Pine Street, on Saturday, the 15th inst., at twelve o'clock, for consultation and mutual counsel, with a view to the adoption of such measures, if any can be devised, as will tend to heal the present dissensions, and restore our once happy country to peaceful and harmonious relations.

The answer to the enclosed letters will be read to the meeting.

Very respectfully,

WATTS SHERMAN.	WILLIAM B. ASTOR.
WASHINGTON HUNT, of Lockport.	JOHN A. DIX.
ERASTUS BROOKS.	C. COMSTOCK, of Albany.
JAMES T. BRADY.	AUGUSTUS SCHELL.
GUSTAVUS W. SMITH.	STEWART BROWN.
EDWIN CROSWELL.	GERARD HALLOCK.
WILSON G. HUNT.	GEO. E. BALDWIN.
JAMES T. SOUTTER.	JAMES W. BEEKMAN.

RICHARD LATHERS.

[All of the above are now deceased but the last named, who called the meeting to order.]

In pursuance of the above invitation, some two hundred of the leading men of the city and State assembled at the place designated, soon after twelve o'clock, on Saturday, 15th inst.

A large number of those who had been invited were present, while from others, whose engagements precluded their attendance, letters explaining the cause of their absence were received and read to the meeting. The following is a list of the gentlemen to whom invitations were sent, many of whom were present, and their names will accurately reflect the character of the assemblage:

John G. Cisco.
Gouverneur Kemble.
Aaron Ward.
Thomas Tileston.
James Brooks.
Royal Phelps.
A. A. Low.
Samuel G. Courtney.
Stewart Brown.
Robert B. Minturn.
Henry Grinnell.
Charles O'Conor.
James T. Brady.
Millard Fillmore.
Washington Hunt.
William Kelly.
William B. Astor.
Gerard Hallock.
Charles Comstock.
Erastus Corning.
Gustavus W. Smith.
Horatio Seymour.
George E. Baldwin.
P. W. Engs.
Daniel S. Dickinson.
William Duncan.
Watts Sherman.
Joshua J. Henry.
Elias S. Higgins.
Algernon S. Jarvis.
Vine Wright Kingsley.
O. G. Carter.
John M. Barbour.
E. B. Hart.
John Kelley.
George W. Clinton.
William B. Clerke.
Isaac Bell.
Thomas E. Davis.
Stephen Johnson.
John A. Stewart.
Com. W. P. Levy.
James E. Shaw.
Eugene Kelly.
Robert O. Glover.
Benjamin Nott.
James Avisell.
Thomas Bacon.
Edward Dodge.
A. B. Getty.
John B. Higgins.
J. A. Greene, Jr.
A. C. Paige.
Judge Allen.
James C. Spencer.
A. B. Conger.
George Bartlett.
H. S. Randal.
Carlos Cobb.
Israel T. Hatch.

N. E. Paine.
Wooster Sherman.
John D. Pierson.
William F. Russell.
Horace Day.
E. J. Brown.
William Duer.
Solomon G. Haven.
Thomas Slocomb.
R. G. Horton.
James F. Cox.
J. R. Bulkley.
William C. Pickersgill.
Samuel D. Babcock.
James M. Brown.
H. F. Spaulding.
R. Caldwell.
John Potts Brown.
J. Boorm'n Johnston.
George G. Sampson.
Samuel B. Caldwell.
George W. Bee.
Frederick Hudson.
John Allen.
George W. Hennings.
Rev. T. H. Taylor.
Rev. F. L. Hawkes.
Prof. Mitchell.
Edward H. Gillilan.
J. Leaycraft.
H. O. Brewer.
Andrew Mount.
Moses Taylor.
Mansfield Lovell.
Richard Schell.
Benj. R. Winthrop.
J. W. Chanler.
James Maurice, Jr.
Charles Roome.
Lucius Hopkins.
A. P. Pillot.
S. M. L. Barlow.
William Miner.
James D. Morgan.
Edwin Croswell.
Augustus Schell.
Wilson G. Hunt.
Erastu Brooks.
General Vielie.
John A. Parker.
S. J. Tilden.
Greene C. Bronson.
G. B. Lamar.
James T. Soutter.
Benjamin Loder.
Gulian C. Verplanck.
P. B. Sweeney.
E. F. Purdy.
S. P. Russell.
James Munroe.
John A. Dix.
James W. Beekman.
C. Augustus Davis.
J. H. Brower.
Reuben Withers.
Aaron Vanderpoel.
Martin Van Buren.
T. W. Clerke.
Wm. D. Kennedy.
Jonathan Trotter.
Charles Yates.
Henry Meyer.
John H. Lyell.
James M. Hayward.
O. B. Wheeler.
Lorenzo Burrowes.
R. H. Walworth.
D. D. Aikin.
D. B. St. John.
T. B. Satterthwaite.
F. S. Lathrop.
J. D. Jones.

Lt.-Gen. Winfield Scott.
George B. Dorr.
Elwood Walter.
C. F. Lindsley.
James E. Shaw.
C. S. Johnson.
Sydney E. Morse.
Townsend Cox.
John Van Buren.
Amasa J. Parker.
Douglas Robinson.
Daniel F. Tiemann.
Abm. S. Hewitt.
Edward Cooper.
D. Devlin.
John C. Hamilton.
James Gordon Bennett.
U. P. Levy, U.S.N.
Ashael S. Levy.
Edwards Pierrepont.
Charles A. Secor.
John H. Earle.
Frederick Gebhard.
Wm. C. Wetmore.
S. F. Butterworth.
R. W. Howe.
W. D. Parsons.
Jehial Read.
Edward Haight.
J. S. Thayer.
W. F. Havemeyer.
William Redmond.
Henry Hopkins.
Lyman Tremain.
D. D. Barnard.
Rufus W. Peckham.
Gen. P. Gansevoort.
August Belmont.
William McMurray.
J. J. Roosevelt.
Le Grand Capers.
Emerson Coleman.
Gould Hoyt.
Robert Souter.
Editor N. Y. *Observer*.
Daniel W. Teller.
James Punnett.
A. T. Stewart.
William T. Coleman.
Hiram Ketchum.
Frederick Schuchardt.
James Wadsworth.
J. W. White,
U. S. Consul at Lyons.
E. P. Norton.

Colonel Richard Lathers called the meeting to order, and in doing so, spoke as follows:

Gentlemen,—By the request of the Committee of Invitation, I rise to call this meeting to order. I need hardly say to you how much gratified we are to see so many of the venerable and distinguished statesmen, the enterprising merchants, and the substantial citizens of our beloved State convened on this occasion. You are called together as national men, irrespective of party, to consider a subject of painful interest,—the threatened dissolution of our glorious confederacy,—to contemplate that fatal period in our country's history against which the prophetic pen of the father of our country so earnestly warned us

in his farewell address. Our Union has fallen a prey to sectionalism, and the terrors of civil war and of fraternal strife threaten to deluge the land with blood, and to erase from the calendar of nations the land of our pride and affections—the land of hope and of refuge, and the land possessing the highest civilization, the greatest commercial development and national power which have ever blessed the prospects of constitutional liberty. The stern realities before us require no exaggeration to bring the danger home to us. There are, it is true, those whose recklessness or ignorance deride the efforts of patriotism as "Union saving," and the poisoned chalice of sectionalism seems to be possessed with fatal effect in proportion as the fraternal hand allays and soothes the malady. Would to God that these sectional agitators could alone suffer the penalty of their own aggressions on the rights of the South, and that those who love our country's institutions and fulfil their reciprocal duties as citizens in the spirit and letter of the Constitution, could escape the penalty of the "higher-law" doctrines, and be permitted to develop the national resources untrammelled with sectional strife and unstained with federal infidelity. You are convened as patriots, who can rise above party trammels, and whose "higher law" can render unto Cæsar the things that are Cæsar's; who can perform your whole duty to your fellow-citizens of other States, under a sacred compact, irrespective of the effect on abstract opinions of the government of colored persons or of Territories, your philanthropy being always limited by your duty, and your generosity by justice. It is not now the time to discuss the institutions of the South or their rights in the Territories, nor to inveigh against the teachings and practices of those whose bad faith and aggressive spirit have produced that degree of exasperation among our Southern brethren, entitling their precipitancy, even, to much allowance, when we consider their wrongs. All this has been done on our part without effect, and the South, hopeless of its rights under the confederacy, proposes to save its institutions out of it. We have met to ask them, in a fraternal spirit, to pause and consider their duties to that part of their Northern brethren whose sympathies have always been with Southern rights and against Northern aggression; to co-operate with us in bringing back to its pristine integrity our common heritage—the Constitution —and rebuke and effectually put down the fell spirit which

threatens to divide us. Already our industrial and commercial enterprises are paralyzed, and we are threatened with bankruptcy among the rich and starvation among the poor. Our public securities and private engagements are looked on with distrust, while the political organizations of the States and of the nation are in daily peril of dissolution. We propose to send a committee to the South, to lay our views before their statesmen, and to express our sympathy for their wrongs and to assure them of our continued co-operation and hopes of success in speedily procuring for them that equality which abstract justice, as well as the Constitution, guarantees to them and their institutions. We wish not only to assure them of our own fidelity to the Constitution, and of our fraternal feelings to all parts of our common country, but to inspire them with hope that the evils of abolition have culminated, and that a returning sense of justice will mark the future legislation of the nullifying States of the North. It is proposed to send a committee whose social position, integrity, and able political experience will do credit to their constituency and impress our Southern brethren with the earnestness of our co-operation and the soundness of the leading and representative men of New York herein assembled. I again repeat that the Committee of Invitation feel that they have accomplished much good in bringing together so illustrious a body of men to consider the grave questions before them, and to initiate the first movement, on the part of the Empire State, to prevent, if possible, a rupture in our national affairs. And it is with pleasure we have to propose a gentleman to preside over your deliberations whose national reputation and patriotic sentiments commend him to every lover of our country, and fit him peculiarly to preside over a body of national men in the present national emergency. I propose, therefore, as Chairman of this meeting, the Hon. Charles O'Conor. (Applause.)

The following gentlemen were appointed Secretaries: James F. Cox, William B. Clerke, and Oliver G. Carter.

Mr. O'Conor, on taking the chair, spoke as follows:

I sincerely regret that it was not your pleasure to select some other gentleman as chairman of this meeting. In these times, it is more important that we should exhibit to the public mind accessions to our ranks—to that class of our people who have given

no cause for excitement, and who have done nothing to sunder the ties of affection by which the people of these United States were once held together. I should rather, much rather, that this meeting could be presided over by some gentleman, remarkable, if you please, for not having hitherto manifested much interest in this question, or remarkable, like Senator Dixon, of Connecticut, who a day or two since, stepping forth from the ranks of the so-called Republican party, and placing himself before this country as a true-hearted American, devoted to conciliation, to harmony, to holding us together, to perpetuating our interests and our Union, proclaimed in the Senate of the United States the doctrine of peace, and made a manly effort in his high place—who, separating himself, as I say, from those who were at least suspected, and with whom he had been associated, made an effort worthy of the occasion and likely to be beneficial in its influence. (Applause.) I have no other objection to appear here, save that my appearance does not indicate the presence of a new champion for Union, a new vindicator of concord, a new foe to causes of irritation and dissension, but is a mere indication—permit me to say it—that those who have been always faithful are faithful still. (Applause.)

From these personal remarks I pass to a brief consideration of the question that has brought us together. Gentlemen, in a position of entire seclusion from political interests and public affairs, I have had occasion, not for a week, a month, or a single year, but for a number of years, to study with attention the grave question now presented to us by the action of political parties; and I have seen, as I conceive, during a period of some years' duration, a tendency in political action that, in my judgment, necessarily led, as an unavoidable consequence, to a dissolution of this Union. Political parties should never be divided upon moral questions, as they are called. In the phrase "moral" I include the whole circle of religious opinion. And political parties can never be beneficially formed in a free State, founded upon the odium and detestation in which one party is required to hold the life, walk, conversation, and morals, or the religious opinions, of another. (Applause.) It hence follows that when politicians seeking for some issue upon which to divide the community, selected as their point, as their banner, "Odium against Negro Slavery," they selected an issue which necessarily led sooner or later to a dissolution of the Union. It

was—and no truer phrase could have been uttered; I find no fault with the expression—it was necessarily an "irrepressible conflict," in which one party or the other must be absolutely subdued, so that it could no longer sustain, in any degree, the contest with the other. I do not think it was an "irrepressible conflict" in any of the senses in which the term has been used, or in the way in which it was understood by those who uttered it; but it was necessarily an irrepressible conflict. I cannot imagine it to be possible that two distinct nations—and each of these States is, for certain political purposes, and for all the purposes of this question, a distinct nation—that two distinct nations can live together in one civil government, each entertaining an utter detestation of the life and morals of the other. And permit me to say in this connection that when I speak of nations I am to be understood as referring to the effective political majority. The effective political majority of a State in this Union speak the voice of the State. They are the nation; the minority are a nullity; they have no voice or power. It hence follows that when an utter detestation of the life and morals of the people of Carolina has become the basis of a political party in New York, and that political party acquire an ascendency in the political affairs of the government, these two States cannot live together, except in the relation of oppressor and oppressed. (Applause.) The more powerful will trample on the weaker. It may trample on the weaker according to some written constitution, so that there will be no direct violation of its letter. It may trample upon it in a way justifiable by some course of argument as conformable to law, but it will trample upon the weaker after all. A political Union of distinct organized communities thus opposed in moral sentiment can only be upheld by force. In such a Union there can be no relation between the hater and the detested, except the relation of oppressor and oppressed. (Applause.) It is vain to say, "We will give you equal laws." It is vain to say, "Congress can pass no laws to injure the Southern States." It is not by legislation that the oppression will be effected. It is by the unseen but potent influence of the Executive Department. That influence guides the action of the government and must lead to oppression of the Southern people if it is permitted to pass into the hands of those who hate them for the love of God. (Applause.) Therefore, gentlemen, whilst I deplore secession as

much as any man who breathes, whilst I deplore secession as fraught with the greatest evils, I have looked upon it as an inevitable event whenever those who detest the life and conversation of the Southern people acquire political control over the central government at Washington. (Applause.) Not as a thing that must happen on the instant, but which must pretty soon follow. It is the natural, the necessary, the inevitable consequence; and although I may dislike particular individuals at the South, and believe that they are influenced by evil motives, and take advantage of the present state of things for the purpose of advancing private ends and aims, I cannot find fault with the South as a unit. I look upon the South as a unit, and upon the North as a unit. I do not take account of the men at the South who are influenced by bad motives. I do not take account of the men at the North who are influenced by bad motives. I look upon the South as a unit, that is the effective majority which represents the feelings and interests of the South, and I look upon the North as it is represented by that effective majority which speaks the voice of the North. And, looking at them in this way, I see that if the South cannot otherwise protect itself against the aggressive spirit of the North, there is an imperious necessity for this act of secession. (Applause—A voice, "Not at all.")

Is the secession to come? Desponding men seem to fear it. Some bad men undoubtedly desire it. The South is full, I am sure, of men who are anxious to prevent it. I am sure that there are numerous well-known secession leaders who lead for the purpose of leading aright, intending, if they can, that the multitude who follow through the wilderness of doubt and dismay may at least be led back into the promised land of Union and fraternity. (Applause.) I deem utterly unworthy the observation that the South has offended. As a unit it has not offended. (Loud applause.) As a unit it has only struggled to sustain itself against the rapidly accumulating majority of those who held its vital interests in such odium, that the destruction of those interests was a necessary consequence of their accession to power. Therefore, I say that there is no fault in the South, as a whole, and it has nothing to atone for. (Applause.) Let us look, then, to the North: and I ask, what are we to say of ourselves? I am myself a native of the North. My ancestors came from a country ten degrees nearer the pole

than the country in which I live. I am a child of the North in every sense. I have scarcely a friend, I have no correspondents, and I have no interests, political or otherwise, in the South; and God gave me a physical constitution that would not permit me to live two degrees farther South than the State in which I am placed. So I can have no personal interests, can be suspected of no personal interests, or ought not at least in common justice to be suspected of personal views, when I say that the South, speaking of it as a unit, as one portion of this country, has not offended, and has only struggled to keep its head above the rapidly advancing waters of this black sea which has so long threatened to overwhelm it. (Applause.) So much as to the South. Now, as to the North: Gentlemen, do I stand here to revile it? Not at all. All my pride, all my affections, all my interests are here. My birth was in the North, and my grave shall be in the North. Let no man suspect me of infidelity to the North, or of going, cap in hand, seeking for favor of any description from the South. I demand nothing, and we demand nothing from it. But let me say, as to the North, that I have no fear of the dishonest Northern politicians. There are dishonest politicians everywhere. I have no fear of those who are denominated the leaders at the North. There is no source of evil whatever in the North, except the honest, conscientious mistake of the honest, conscientious people of the North, who have drunk in this dreadful error that it is their duty, before God and man, to crush out and to trample upon the system of industry upon which the prosperity of the South and the permanency of this Union in its present form depend. (Applause.) There are no enemies to this Union whose action is to be feared, except the honest, virtuous, conscientious people of the North. Let us draw away that support from the designing political factionists, and upon the instant this disturbing, mischievous controversy ends, our Union renews its youth, and appears before us as an institution designed to perpetuity and to bless untold millions for untold ages. (Applause.)

Now, gentlemen, where is our hope? Why, it is in having a little space of time to look about us here at the North; in having a little time to correct our errors and to withdraw political power from those who would use it destructively. There is no other means; there is no other remedy. The question is this: Can we obtain a little time? Can we induce the South to

believe in our continued fidelity, to believe in the practicability of accomplishing our hopes, that harmony may thus be restored, and such a state of things created, by means of proper guarantees, as will render the South safe within the Union? That is the question. Undoubtedly a voice coming from the city of New York will be recognized as the voice of a friend, for here there was not only an effective majority, but a mighty majority in favor of doing entire justice to the South, and of keeping out of power this dangerous party, whose first advent to power —the very name of its advent to power—has shaken our republic to its foundations. Can we obtain a little time? I understand the proposition is that this city shall appeal to the South for time; induce the South, if possible, to stay its hand, and be patient for a time. This, certainly, I think we ought to do. There are a great many safeguards for public liberty in our Constitution. There are a great many safeguards for the rights of oppressed States and endangered interests in our Constitution, and a resort to some one of these, if our people and our representatives in Congress would earnestly unite, might give to our friends at the South assurances that political power cannot and will not be wielded, even by the Executive, or through executive patronage, to their destruction.

And, gentlemen, can we afford them guarantees? I think we can. (Applause.) In the first place, we have nothing to fear, in my judgment, except from honest men, as I have said before, who have been misled and deceived—who have been misled and deceived, in a very great degree, not by politicians, but by persons in other walks of life—by moral lecturers and by ministers of the Gospel, who have entertained—very excusably, I am willing to say—mistaken views upon this subject, taken up, perhaps, under the influence of excitement, from very improper conduct occasionally manifested on the part of Southern men in and out of Congress. There are signs of improvement in this quarter. In the still recent canvass between Fremont and Buchanan, when this identical question was before the people, it was said in the newspapers, I doubt not with substantial truth, that three thousand pulpits were pouring out their thunders against slavery, and calling upon the people, in the name of the God whom they worshipped, to give their utmost efforts to the accomplishment of the object then in view,—the election of an anti-slavery Executive. Gentlemen, you will not certainly

have failed to observe that during the canvass which we have just passed through, the pulpit was almost silent upon the subject. The persons who spoke from the pulpit were so few in number that they have attained a most unenviable notoriety, and will probably be remembered for a century at least for the distinctive position in which they placed themselves, whilst the pulpit generally was, as it should generally be upon such subjects, silent. Now, that was a great improvement. It showed that a disposition to reconsider the subject had entered the minds of good men at the North. It showed that those who were excited by improper acts, by acts of violence, and violent speeches, to a feeling of hostility to the South, had begun to consider their duty—had begun the study of the volume from which they were bound to take their doctrines, and had begun to learn that it was by no means so clear that every slaveholder should be punished in this world and be necessarily consigned to perdition in the next. I say the pulpit was silent. And the pulpit has now improved upon that silence. I trust a million have already read, and millions more will read, throughout the North, the sermon of the Rev. Mr. Van Dyke (applause), delivered on Sunday last, where, most wisely,—from the attitude in which he stood, in all respects most justly and unexceptionably ignoring all mere worldly philosophy, ignoring all domination of men or parties, in church, in state, in politics or elsewhere, and placing himself upon that which is the single guide to faith and doctrine in the judgment and fixed opinions of the great sect which he represents—the dominant sect throughout all the North,—placing himself upon the Holy Scriptures of Almighty God, he showed that the people of the South, if they but performed their duties in their stations as well as we at the North in ours, lead lives as virtuous and comformable to the precepts of Almighty God, and of early morality, as the best men at the North. (Applause.)

First, then, gentlemen, we have shown what? We have shown that an influential body which once made itself active to a dangerous end (I grant from pure motives), first paused, and then changed its tone on full consideration. And I ask you, is there not hope that we shall live to learn throughout these Northern States that our duty is to correct our own personal vices, to reform our own minds and our own morals—to be ourselves good and kind Christians, loving and affectionate fellow-citi-

zens? And if we needs must take cognizance of the faults and errors of other nations, and send the firebrand of incendiary documents where we can find no missionary daring enough to go, let us select the heathen in far-distant lands, and not undertake to denounce as heathens and sinners our own estimable fellow-citizens. (Applause.) This circumstance presents grounds for hope. It shows that there is a tendency in the Northern mind to correct itself, to reconsider its judgment, and to act more kindly and more charitably towards the people of the South.

Well, gentlemen, there is a power at Washington that can save the people of the South, if it can but firmly unite and resolve to protect the South. I mean in the Senate of the United States, where the South has a strong voice, and where many from the North are ready to sustain and support her. And as to the more distant future, as it respects guarantees and final protection to the South, why let us, in God's name, if no other remedy can be had, sit down in a national convention and add one section to our Constitution. I would not alter one word of it. (Applause.) I am against altering the Constitutions, either of the Union or of the States, that were adopted in times that tried men's souls—in times when the fathers of this republic, under the guidance of Almighty Providence, were laying the foundations of the first great free State that ever existed. (Applause.) I believe that Divine Wisdom presided over those events and the judgments that were formed in framing fundamental laws at the close of that contest. I believe that every step wherein we have departed from the fundamental laws of that day was a mistake, and that if there be any errors existing at this time in our practice, political or otherwise, the efficient cure for them is to go back to the platform upon which the fathers stood (loud applause),—to return to the glorious rules and principles framed for their posterity by those who founded the republic. Therefore, gentlemen, I would not have a new Constitution, and obliterate that great instrument, sanctioned by the name of George Washington. (Applause.) I would not say to the present generation or to posterity that we could improve it by altering one single word or provision of it. (Applause.) I would, however, be willing to add—for we have commentators on the most sacred things—I would be willing to add a provision for the purpose of removing disputes,

by way of carrying out and more completely and exactly executing the things that are in it. We are told by the highest authority—by that which, I trust, we all revere,—the Supreme Court of the United States—that the Declaration of Independence and the Constitution of the United States were made by and for the free white Caucasian race inhabiting these United States. (Applause.) And I would add a provision to the Constitution embracing—for the purpose of convincing those who otherwise will not see—that principle; and that would guarantee complete protection to the people of the South. (Applause.) I will not say precisely in what form it should be added. I will not say it, not because I have not duly and fully reflected on it, and am not prepared to say it, but because it may as well be left for greater men than I to have the honor of putting it in form, and suggesting the way in which it should be adopted. Now, gentlemen, there is no inhumanity, there is no selfishness, there is nothing that men can find fault with in laying down the rule that America was made for a free white Caucasian race and its development. We but follow the judgment of Almighty God when we say, "America for the white Caucasian, Africa for the negro who was born in it, who is adapted to its climate, and there, in a physical sense, at least, can best flourish." (Applause.) Why, if we establish the principle that this is a free white republic, and not a home for the free black man, and if the black man has in his nature and constitution a capacity of being elevated to power, and of being civilized and Christianized, what a mighty empire of free, enlightened, independent, powerful men you will have in Africa within a century or two! If they are fit for freedom, if they can enjoy and sustain self-government, that is the way in which benevolence, which turns away from the white man and aims at elevating the black man, can have its full gratification. If the black men of the South are one day to attain their liberty, it will be when hundreds of millions of enlightened, Christian, civilized black men, in the full enjoyment of liberty, shall people the plains and hills of Africa—when that continent shall have its civilization, its commerce, its armies, and its navies—then, indeed, the Southern States of this Union would be obliged to sustain an unequal conflict, or deliver up to the freedom of his native region every black slave within their borders. And thus, if, indeed, as these fanatics seem to think, it be

within the scheme of Almighty Providence to elevate the black race, that race will be elevated by its own instrumentality, and in a climate most congenial to its constitution, mental and physical.

Gentlemen, I have already kept you too long. This, to be sure, is a great subject, and I always feel, when I speak upon it, that I must either say altogether too little, or weary the patience of those who may be obliged through courtesy to listen. I have done. We have met to reassure our Southern friends. We have met to present to them, in the strongest form in our power, the assurance of our continued action in their favor, and to concert such measures as may lead to staying the progress of their justifiable discontent. I insist upon calling it so. (Applause.) To stay the affirmative, final action of that justifiable discontent until we shall have had an opportunity to change the existing state of things, and relieve the South from the present position of affairs. The party which believes it a duty to suppress and crush out slavery may be held out from the possession of political power over the central government; we may not be able to control that party in particular States, but within a very short period I sincerely believe we shall be able to hurl that party from power at Washington, and by united action we may prevent it from working mischief in the interval. (Loud applause.)

Hon. John A. Dix then arose and addressed the Chair, as follows:

Mr. Chairman,—The object of this meeting has been stated. It is to see whether some measures may not be devised to arrest hasty and inconsiderate action in the South until we can consult together for a redress of their grievances. It has been proposed that a committee should be appointed to repair to the South to expostulate with leading men there in regard to this question. It is not supposed that the action of South Carolina can be influenced at all, but it is believed that the action of the other States may. You have stated, Mr. Chairman, that there is a body of conservative men at the South who may be reached. We hope by a strong fraternal appeal, avoiding as far as possible all the questions which are calculated to produce irritation, to reach that conservative body of men. I therefore move that a committee be appointed by the Chair to present an address and resolutions, if it be thought proper, and such other recommendations as may be suited to the present crisis.

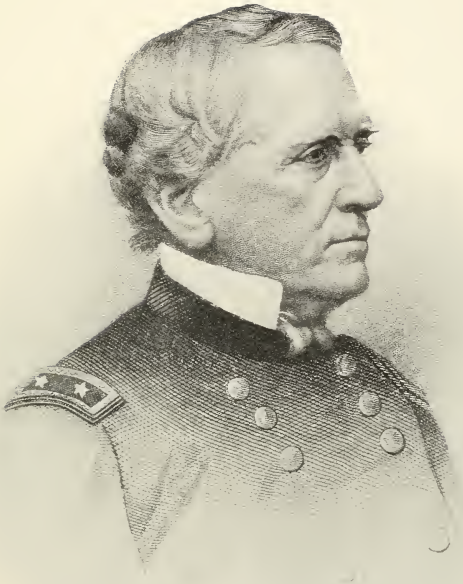
The motion was agreed to, and the Chair appointed the following gentlemen to constitute that committee:

John A. Dix.	Wilson G. Hunt.
George E. Baldwin.	Gustavus W. Smith.
Gerard Hallock.	John M. Barbour.
Edwin Croswell.	Thomas W. Clerke.
Stephen P. Russell.	James T. Soutter.
James W. Beekman.	Samuel J. Tilden.
Watts Sherman.	Benjamin Nott.
John H. Brower.	John L. O'Sullivan.
Elias S. Higgins.	John McKeon.
Algernon S. Jarvis.	Wm. H. Aspinwall.
Royal Phelps.	Charles A. Davis.
Thomas W. Ludlow.	Stewart Brown.

[All of the above are now deceased.]

At the conclusion of a number of speeches, the committee, which had been out in consultation, reported through their Chairman, General John A. Dix, the following address and resolutions, which, after consideration, were adopted unanimously.

Fellow-Citizens and Brethren of the South,—It has become our painful duty to address ourselves to you under the most alarming circumstances in which we have been placed since the formation of the government. In the fulness of our prosperity, our strength, and our credit, the Union, to which we owe it all, is in imminent danger of becoming a prey to internal dissension, sacrificing the great interests of the country, and forfeiting the high position it holds among the nations of the earth. To avert a calamity so disgraceful to us as a free people, so disastrous to the common welfare, and so disheartening to the friends of representative government in both hemispheres, we appeal to you by the sacred memory of that fraternal friendship which bound our forefathers together through the perils of the Revolution, which has united us all through succeeding years of alternate good and ill, and which has conducted us, under the protection of the Sovereign Ruler of the Universe, to wealth and power by a progress unexampled in the history of the past —by all the endearing recollections with which this association



MAJOR-GENERAL JOHN A. DIX.

is hallowed, we conjure you to pause before the current of disunion shall acquire a force which may prove irresistible, that we may consult together, with the calmness due to the magnitude of the crisis, for the removal of the causes which have produced it. We make this appeal to you in entire confidence that it will not be repulsed. We have stood by you in the political contest through which we have just passed. We have asserted your rights as earnestly as though they had been our own. You cannot refuse, therefore, to listen to us, and to weigh with becoming deliberation the reasons we have for believing that the wrongs, which have led to the existing alienation between the two great sections of the country, may, with your co-operation, be speedily redressed. We do not intend to go back to the origin of these wrongs. We will not review the dark history of the aggression and insult visited upon you by abolitionists and their abettors during the last thirty-five years. Our detestation of these acts of hostility is not inferior to your own. We take things as they exist, to deal with them as an evil, not to be eradicated by violence, but to be remedied by a treatment which shall at the same time be considerate and firm. We call on you as friends to delay action until we can induce those, through whose agency the evil has been brought upon us, to listen to the voices of reason and duty, and to place your relations and ours to the common privileges and benefits of the Union on a footing of perfect equality; or, failing in this, until we can bring the majority of our fellow-citizens in the North to co-operate with us, as we do not doubt they will, in the proper measures of redress. We do not despair of securing from those, to whose hands the reins of government are about to be intrusted, a recognition of your rights in regard to the surrender of fugitive slaves and equality in the Territories. We know that great changes of opinion have already taken place among their most intelligent and influential men; that a reaction has commenced, which is not likely to be stayed; that errors and prejudices, which in the heat of the canvass were inaccessible to reason and persuasion, have been, on cool reflection, renounced; nay, more, that many, whose opinions have undergone no change, are willing, in a praiseworthy spirit of patriotism, to make on questions, which are not fundamental in our system of government, but merely accessory to our social condition, the concessions necessary to preserve the Union in its integrity, and

to save us from the fatal alternative of dismemberment into two or more empires, jealous of each other, and embittered by the remembrance of differences, which we had not the justice or the magnanimity to compose.

Let us enumerate briefly the grounds on which we repose our trust in a speedy accommodation of the existing disagreement between the North and the South.

I. The late election. Although it was adverse to us throughout the North, we have in the detail added materially to our strength in Congress, where the power to redress wrong and prevent abuse is most needed. In this State, against five Democratic and Union members of the present Congress, eleven members have been elected for the next; and in the other Northern States five members more have been gained, making a change of twenty-two votes in the House of Representatives, giving a decided majority in that body to the friends of the Union and the equal rights of the South, rendering all hostile legislation impossible, and affording assurance that existing wrong will be redressed.

In regard to the general result of the election, we do not hesitate to say that the conservative men of the North have been defeated by their own divisions rather than by the votes of their opponents, and that it is not a true criterion of the relative strength of parties. The slavery question was but an element in the contest; it would have proved utterly inadequate to the result had not the Democratic party been disorganized by its own dissensions. Even in the city of New York, with an overwhelming majority, one of the most conservative Congress districts was lost by running two candidates against a single Republican.

In the Congress districts carried by the anti-Republicans, the canvass was placed distinctly on the ground of sustaining the equal rights of the States in the Territories. In the month of May last an address was published in the city of New York, reviewing the controversy between the two great sections of the country in regard to the Territorial question, and assuming as a basis of settlement the following grounds:

1. A citizen of any State in the Union may emigrate to the Territories with his property, whether it consists of slaves or any other subject of personal ownership.

2. So long as the Territorial condition exists, the relation of

master and slave is not to be disturbed by federal or local legislation.

3. Whenever a Territory shall be entitled to admission into the Union as a State, the inhabitants may, in framing their Constitution, decide for themselves whether it shall authorize or exclude slavery.

We stand on these grounds now. We believe the controversy can be adjusted on no other. Many who sustained in the late canvass a candidate who did not assent to them, disagreed with him in opinion. We speak particularly of the city of New York; and we say with confidence that we believe the great conservative party of the North may be rallied successfully on the foregoing propositions as a basis of adjustment. In carrying them out we shall re-establish the practice of the government from its organization to the year 1820, running through the successive administrations of Washington, the elder Adams, Jefferson, and Madison. The territory northwest of the Ohio River, in which slavery was prohibited by an ordinance adopted under the articles of confederation, was an exceptional case. In the other Territories emigrants from the States were freely admitted with slaves when composing a part of their families. The adoption of the Missouri Compromise, under the administration of Mr. Monroe, was the first departure from the practice of the government under the Constitution. We must go back to the policy of the founders of the republic if we hope to preserve the Union. We believe this great object can be accomplished, and that harmony may be restored to the country if time for action be given to those who have its destinies in their hands.

II. The Republican party. It cannot possibly remain unbroken during the term of the incoming administration. The two chief elements—the political and religious—can never harmonize in practice. The process of separation has already commenced. While those who ostensibly represent the religious element are as fierce as ever in their denunciations, leading politicians, no doubt in view of the responsibility to devolve on the President-elect in carrying on the government, have renounced ultra opinions, and proclaimed the duty of enforcing an efficient fugitive slave law. In Boston the Union party triumphed by a majority of several thousand votes in the late municipal election, and the abolitionists have been expelled by the people

from the public halls, in which they attempted to hold their disorganizing assemblies. In other cities of New England the same reaction has taken place. The theorists and the politicians can never hold together when measures of government are to be agreed on; and it is not believed that the Republican party can sustain itself for a single year on the basis of the principles on which it was organized.

It is a mistake to imagine that the whole Republican party, or even the great bulk of it, is really at heart animated by any spirit hostile to the rights or menacing to the interests of the South. Anti-slaveryism has constituted but one of various political elements combined in that "republicanism" which has elected Mr. Lincoln. We pledge ourselves to you, that whenever a fair opportunity shall be presented of a distinct and simple vote of the North upon the full recognition of all your constitutional rights, a very large majority in nearly every Northern State will be found true to the Constitution and true to the fraternal relations established by it between you and us.

III. The fugitive slave law. Eight or nine States have passed laws calculated, if not designed, to embarrass the surrender of fugitive slaves. Wrong as these enactments are in principle and in purpose, they have been practically nugatory. We believe no fugitive from service or labor has been discharged under any one of them. They are, nevertheless, utterly indefensible as the index of unfriendly feeling; they have wrought, in practice, the further injury of furnishing an example of infidelity to Constitutional obligations—an injury to us as well as to you; and no one doubts that they will, when brought before the judicial tribunals of the country, be pronounced violations or evasions of a duty enjoined by the Constitution, and therefore void.

A movement has already been made in Vermont (the most hopeless of the Republican States) to repeal her personal liberty bill, and the question, as we understand, is yet undecided in the hands of a committee. Massachusetts, it is believed, will repeal hers at the approaching session of her Legislature. Nor is it doubted that Mr. Lincoln, who has publicly declared that the fugitive slave law must be faithfully executed, will exert his influence to procure the abrogation of all conflicting enactments by the States. That it is the duty of the States to repeal them, without waiting for the Courts to pronounce them

invalid, no man, who justly appreciates the existing danger, will deny.

IV. The conservative men of the North. Since the adoption of the compromise measures of 1850, we have firmly maintained your rights under them. Previous differences of opinion were cheerfully renounced. The contest with the ultraism of the Republican party, active and strong as it is, has not been unaccompanied by personal sacrifices on our part. They have been encountered unhesitatingly, and without regard to political consequences to ourselves. We felt that we had a stake in the issue not less important than you. Believing the Union essential to the prosperity and the honor of the country; holding that its dissolution would not only overwhelm us with calamity and disgrace, but that it would give a fatal shock to the cause of free government throughout the world, we have sought by all practicable means to maintain it by carrying out with scrupulous fidelity the compromises of the Constitution. Though beaten at the late election, it is our sincere belief that we are stronger on this question now than we have been at any previous time. We believe we are nearer a solution satisfactory to you than we ever have been. We regard it as certain to be accomplished, unless it is defeated by precipitate action on your part.

These are a few of the grounds on which we rely for an adjustment of existing differences. There are others which we deem it needless at this juncture to press on you. But we should leave the view we take of the question unfinished, if we were not to add, that any violation of your constitutional rights by the incoming administration, if it were attempted, would meet with as prompt and determined a resistance here as it would from yourselves. We desire it to be distinctly understood that we speak with full knowledge of the import of our words; and that we pledge ourselves to such a resistance by all the means which may be necessary to make it effective. But we are satisfied no such danger is to be feared. It cannot, in the nature of things, be an ultra administration. No party in power, under our system of government, can fail to be conservative, no matter on what declarations the canvass may have been conducted by its leading supporters. There is an undercurrent of moderation in the flow of popular opinion, which will inevitably withhold those, to whom the great interests of the

country are only temporarily confided, from running rashly into extremes.

Let us, then, fellow-citizens and brethren, again appeal to you to abstain from any movement which shall have for its object a dissolution of the political bonds which have so long, and so happily for us all, united us to each other. They have given us honor, wealth, and power. If occasional differences have disturbed the general harmony, they have been speedily adjusted with fresh accessions of benefit to the common welfare. No nation has had so uninterrupted a career of prosperity. To what are we to attribute it but to the well-adjusted organization of our political system to its several parts? We do not call on you to aid us in upholding it on these considerations alone. There are others of a more personal nature—not addressing themselves to you as communities of men merely, but as individuals like ourselves, bound to us by ties of reciprocal obligation, which we call on you in all candor to respect. We should not make this appeal to you on an occasion of less magnitude. But when the very foundations of society are in danger of being broken up, involving the peace of families, the interests of communities, and the lasting welfare and reputation of the whole confederacy of States, no feeling of delicacy should dissuade us from speaking freely and without concealment. We call on you, then, as brethren and friends, to stand by us as we have stood by you.

During the angry contentions of the last nine years we have been the open and unshrinking vindicators of your rights. It is in fighting with you the battle for the Constitution that we have by an unfortunate combination of causes been overthrown, not finally and hopelessly (far from it), but temporarily only, and with a remaining strength, which needs only to be concentrated to give us the victory in future conflicts. Is it magnanimous—nay, is it just—to abandon us when we are as eager as ever to renew the contest, on grounds essentially your own, and leave us to carry it on in utter hopelessness for want of your co-operation and aid? We cannot doubt the response you will give to this appeal. You cannot fail to see that by hastily separating yourselves from us, you will deprive us of the co-operation needed to contend successfully against the ultraism which surrounds us, and may leave us without power in a political organization embued, by the very act of separation,

with a rancorous spirit of hostility to you. We conjure you, then, to unite with us to prevent the question of disunion from being precipitated by rash counsels and in a manner altogether unworthy of our rank among the great nations of the earth, and of the destinies which await us if we are only true to ourselves.

If the event shall prove that we have overstated our own ability to procure a redress of existing wrongs, or the disposition of others to concede what is due to you as members of a confederacy, which can only be preserved by equal justice to all, let us, when all the efforts of patriotism shall have proved unavailing, when the painful truth shall have forced itself on the conviction that our common brotherhood can no longer be maintained in the mutual confidence in which its whole value consists,—in a word, when reconciliation shall become hopeless, and it shall be manifest (which may God forbid!) that our future paths must lie wide apart, let us do all that becomes reasonable men to break the force of so great a calamity, by parting in peace. Let us remember that we have public obligations at home and abroad, which for our good name must not be dishonored; that we have great interests within and without—on the ocean, in our cities and towns, in our widely extended internal improvements, in our fields and at our firesides —which must not be inconsiderately and wantonly sacrificed. If undervaluing the great boon of our prosperity, we can no longer consent to enjoy it in common, let us divide what we possess on the one hand, and what we owe on the other, and save the republic—the noblest the world has seen—from the horrors of civil war and the degradation of financial discredit.

If, on the other hand (which may God grant!), you shall not turn a deaf ear to this appeal; if it shall be seen in the sequel that we have correctly appreciated the influences which are at work to bring about a reconciliation of existing differences, and a redress of existing wrongs; if mutual confidence shall be restored, and the current of our prosperity shall resume its course, to flow on, as it must, with no future dissensions to disturb it, and in perpetually increasing volume and force, it will be the most cheering consolation of our lives that in contributing to so happy an issue out of the prevailing gloom, we have neither misjudged your patriotism, nor the willingness of our common countrymen to do you justice.

THE RESOLUTIONS.

WHEREAS, The Constitution of the United States was designed to secure equal rights and privileges to the people of all the States, which were either parties to its formation or which have subsequently thereto become members of the Union; and whereas, the said instrument contained certain stipulations in regard to the surrender of fugitive slaves, under the designation of "persons held to service or labor in one State, under the laws thereof, escaping into another," which stipulations were designed to be complied with by the act of Congress making provision for such surrender: and whereas, the agitated state of the country, arising out of differences of opinion in regard to these provisions, demands that we should declare explicitly our sense of the obligations arising under them; therefore,

Resolved, That the delivery of fugitive slaves to their masters is an obligation enjoined by the Constitution, in which all good citizens are bound to acquiesce; and that all laws passed by the States with a view to embarrass and obstruct the execution of the act of Congress making provision therefor, are an infraction of that instrument and should be promptly repealed.

Resolved, That the Territories of the United States are the common property of the people thereof; that they are of right, and ought to be, open to the free immigration of citizens of all the States, with their families, and with whatever is the subject of personal ownership under the laws of the States from which they emigrated; that the relation of master and slave cannot, during the Territorial condition, be rightfully disturbed by federal or local legislation; and that the people of any such Territory can only dispose of the question of slavery in connection with their own political organization when they form a constitution with a view to their admission into the Union as a State.

Resolved, That we pledge ourselves to uphold these principles by all the means in our power; to seek by all practicable efforts a redress of the wrongs of which the Southern States justly complain, and to maintain their equality under the Constitution, in the full enjoyment of all the rights and privileges it confers.

Resolved, That while we deplore the existing excitement in the Southern States, we do not hesitate to say that there is just ground for it. But we earnestly entreat our Southern brethren to abstain from hasty and inconsiderate action, that time may be afforded for bringing about a reconciliation of existing differences, and that the Union of the States—the source of our prosperity and power—may be preserved and perpetuated by a restoration of public harmony and mutual confidence.

Resolved, That Hon. Millard Fillmore, Hon. Greene C. Bronson, and Richard Lathers, Esq., be appointed a committee to proceed to the South, with a view to make such explanation to our Southern brethren, in regard to the subjects embraced in the Address and Resolutions, as they may deem necessary, and to give such further assurances as may be needed to manifest our determination to maintain their rights.

MARTIN VAN BUREN.

Resolved, That, in case either of the gentlemen named in the foregoing resolution be unable to perform the service for which he is appointed, the Committee on the Address and Resolutions be authorized to fill the vacancy.

The following amendment was offered to the second resolution by Hiram Ketchum, but was rejected: strike out all after the word "emigrated" and insert

"And that the question of the rights of the people in the Territories of the United States is and ought to be left to the judgment of the Supreme Court, in whose decision, as the law of the land, all good citizens are bound to acquiesce."

The following amendment was also proposed by Mr. Comstock, but was rejected:

"That inasmuch as differences of opinion exist in regard to the sufficient guaranty of those equal rights by the extension of the provisions of the Constitution, all doubt in regard thereto ought to be authoritatively and forever set at rest by an explanatory amendment to the Constitution."

On motion, it was resolved that the Address and Resolutions, in addition to being published in the daily newspapers, be printed in pamphlet form.

Also, that a manuscript copy thereof be prepared and presented to the authorities of South Carolina, with the signatures attached.

Mr. E. Cooper moved that the resolution to call a public meeting at an early day be referred to the Committee on Address and Resolutions, with power to take such action in relation thereto, and to any other matters pertinent to the proceedings of this meeting, as they may deem expedient.

The resolution was adopted, and the meeting adjourned.

The following letters were read:

FROM WASHINGTON HUNT.

LOCKPORT, December 12, 1860.

I have just received your despatch inviting me to be in New York on Saturday. I need not express to you the deep pain and anxiety with which I have observed the deplorable state of our public affairs. At

times it has appeared to me that nothing less than Divine power can save our Union from destruction. Alas! that a nation so blessed by Heaven should be rent and distracted and broken into warring fragments by the madness of human passions. But we must not look on with silent apathy and despair. The question constantly forces itself upon my mind, What is to be done? Can we do anything to avert the great calamity which impends our country? We must look the danger in the face, and nerve ourselves for the manly discharge of our duty, come what may. What can be done? It is now evident that we have reached a crisis which will compel the two sections to come together and agree on a new and friendly understanding, or else they must separate and form new nationalities. They must consent to some final settlement of the whole slave controversy, remove the subject from federal politics, cease cursing on both sides, and form a genuine Union, or else disunion is inevitable, with the long train of woes and calamities which is sure to follow. Now, can the North and South be brought to a friendly understanding? Extreme men in both sections, animated by powerful passions, will stand in the way of any just compromise. But patriots who love their whole country must not desert their post. We must remain faithful to the last. We are bound to make new and determined efforts so long as there is a ray of hope to cheer us in the holy work. After much reflection, it seems to me that the only solution of our present difficulties must be found in a National Convention —called in the constitutional mode—and that our first endeavor should be to secure it by an appeal to Congress and to the lovers of the Union, North and South. In a body thus constituted, I cannot but believe a large majority would finally concur in presenting a basis of Union which would be ratified by the States and the people. In whatever is done at this time, it is very desirable to have the co-operation of the more moderate Republicans, who are ready to sacrifice their party to save the country. There are some such, and I trust their number will increase daily. It may be advisable to call a State convention, in the first instance, to give expression to the national feeling of New York, and its continued desire to preserve and cherish the Union of the States. Should such a convention be called, I will endeavor to be there. I write this in haste, and will only add, that in whatever measures you may adopt to rescue our country from ruin, you may rely on my sincere and cordial support.

WASHINGTON HUNT.

The following was sent to Mr. Brooks:

FROM FRANCIS L. HAWKS.

NEW YORK, December 15, 1860.

ERASTUS BROOKS, ESQ.:

MY DEAR SIR,—Will you have the goodness to explain to the gentlemen who may assemble at the office of Mr. Lathers to-day that events beyond my control will not permit me to be present in person, though

I concur with them heart and soul in all their patriotic desires and efforts. I am sorry to add that private letters which have just reached me from four of the Southern States satisfy me that disunion is inevitable.

Yours, very truly,

FRANCIS L. HAWKS.

FROM HON. AMASA J. PARKER.

ALBANY, December 13, 1860.

I regret that I cannot meet with you on the 15th instant. Consultation should no longer be delayed as to the measures to be adopted by the conservative men of New York in the present emergency. An address from a committee to the people of the South has been suggested; one in the vein of General Dix's letter ought certainly to produce an effect. But, instead of that, or in addition to it, I think a delegation should be sent from this State to Georgia, to be present at the convention about to be held there, to address the convention and to mingle with its individual members. As to South Carolina, nothing can probably be done with any promise of success. But perhaps the epidemic may be stayed in its progress westward. If Georgia can be saved, the States lying west of her are in much less danger. Even if delaying only can be obtained, a reaction in public opinion at the South may be hoped for in time to prevent a separation. I think the chivalrous feeling of the South will revolt at the idea of abandoning us of the North in our effort to recover the national administration four years hence, in view of the fact that we have placed ourselves in helpless minorities at the North, in struggling to secure the just rights of the South.

AMASA J. PARKER.

Letters were also received from Hon. H. Gourdin, of Charleston, South Carolina; Judge A. C. Paige, of Schenectady, New York; Wooster Sherman, of Watertown; Thomas A. Dwyer, of Williamsburgh; N. C. Paine, of Rochester; John A. Greene, of Syracuse, and Geo. W. Clinton, of Buffalo.

At the close of the proceedings incipient measures were taken for calling a public meeting in this city.

Mr. E. Cooper moved that the resolution to call a public meeting at an early day be referred to the Committee on Address and Resolutions, with power to take such action in relation thereto, and to any other matters pertinent to the proceedings of this meeting, as they may deem expedient.

In accordance with the above resolution, the following gentlemen were appointed as the Committee on Address and Resolutions:

John A. Dix.
George E. Baldwin.
Gerard Hallock.
Edwin Croswell.
Stephen P. Russell.
James W. Beekman.
Watts Sherman.
John H. Brower.
Elias S. Higgins.
Algernon S. Jarvis.
Royal Phelps.
Thomas W. Ludlow.
Charles O'Conor.
Edward Cooper.
John Kelly.
Wilson G. Hunt.
Gustavus W. Smith.
John M. Barbour.
Thomas W. Clerke.
James T. Soutter.
Samuel J. Tilden.
Benjamin Nott.
John L. O'Sullivan.
John McKeon.
Wm. H. Aspinwall.
Charles A. Davis.
Stewart Brown.
James T. Brady.
Edwards Pierrepont.
Richard Lathers.

ADDRESS TO PRESIDENT GRANT.

PRESENTING THE MEMORIAL OF THE TAX-PAYERS' CONVENTION OF SOUTH CAROLINA, 1874.

Mr. President,—We represent the Chamber of Commerce of Charleston, South Carolina, one of the oldest commercial bodies in the Union, originating in 1784, under the presidency of Commodore Gillon, whose gallantry during the Revolution, in capturing three English frigates off the bar of Charleston, while commanding a single vessel, and other naval feats of skill and bravery, which you have no doubt often recalled with pride in the early history of our navy, and whose shade, could it be permitted to look down on our present sufferings, would revolt at the hard conditions to which his descendants in the State are now subjected. We have been appointed as a delegation to cooperate with a like body of leading citizens of the State in the presentation of a Memorial to Congress of the Tax-Payers' Convention, and to lay our grievances before your Excellency, with a view to enlist your sympathy and support for the people of the State, who are now suffering by fraud and misrule, not the result of mere party domination, for there are no party issues of a political nature to divide our citizens, but we suffer by the despotism of a corrupt and ignorant faction, a body of adventurers who came into power by the connivance of the Freedmen's Bureau, and the corrupt use of public funds to procure their election, which funds Congress had set apart for maintaining the indigent and aged freedmen of the State, but which was used for the corruption of the colored race, as appears by the printed Congressional Report, No. 121, of the Second Session of the Forty-second Congress, of the Investigating Committee into the alleged frauds of General Howard: "It was offered to be proved that in South Carolina the Assistant Commissioner (Scott) had been elected governor of that State by the corrupt use of rations, provisions, and transportation; that, as an officer of the Bureau, and having control of this property, he, by and with the knowledge and connivance of Howard, did use such

property to the extent of three hundred thousand dollars for this purpose. The names of witnesses, of high character, and members of the Republican party, were handed in, and subpœnas asked for them, by whom it was stated, by respectable persons, these facts could be substantiated. The majority of the committee refused to allow them to be summoned."

Now, Mr. President, this fact only confirms your own fears as to the dangerous influence of the Freedman's Bureau, so clearly hinted at in your very thoughtful report to President Johnson, in 1865, on your return from your Southern tour of military and civil observation; and I cannot refrain from quoting the greater part of that admirable paper, because it so justly and comprehensively describes public sentiment in South Carolina, and suggests such measures of liberal policy as were well calculated to insure public safety, and a happy reconstruction of the State into the Union; and had your advice been followed by Congress, we would have escaped the evils and scandal which the political action of the Freedmen's Bureau has entailed on this country:

LIEUTENANT-GENERAL GRANT'S REPORT.

"The following are the conclusions come to by me: I am satisfied that the mass of the thinking people of the South accept the present situation of affairs in good faith. The questions which have hitherto divided the sentiments of the people of the two sections, slavery and States-rights, or the right of a State to secede from the Union, they regard as having been settled by the highest tribunal (arms) that man can resort to. I was pleased to learn from the leading men whom I met, that they not only accepted the decision arrived at as final, but now that the smoke of battle was cleared away, and time has been given for reflection, that this decision has been a fortunate one for the whole country, they receiving the like benefits from it with those who opposed them in the field and in council. The white and black mutually require the protection of the general government. There is such universal acquiescence in the authority of the general government throughout the portions of the country visited by me, that the mere presence of military force, without regard to numbers, is sufficient to maintain order. The good of the country requires that the force kept in the interior, where there are many freedmen (elsewhere in the Southern States than at forts, upon the sea-coast, no force is necessary), should be white troops. The reasons for this are obvious, without mentioning many of them. The presence of black troops, lately slaves, demoralizes labor, *both by their advice* and furnishing in their camps a resort for the freedmen for long distances around. White troops generally excite no opposition, and therefore a small number of

GENERAL U. S. GRANT.

them can maintain order in a given district. Colored troops must be kept in bodies sufficient to defend themselves.

"It is not thinking men who would do violence towards any class of troops sent among them by the general government, but the ignorant in some places might; and the late slave, too, who might be imbued with the idea that the property of his late master should, by right, belong to him, at least should have no protection from the colored soldier. My observations lead me to the conclusion that the citizens of the Southern States are anxious to return to self-government within the Union as soon as possible. I did not give the operations of the Freedmen's Bureau that attention I would have done if more time had been at my disposal. Conversations, however, on the subject with officers connected with the Bureau led me to think that in some States its affairs have not been conducted with judgment or economy, and that the belief widely spread among the freedmen of the Southern States, that the lands of their former owners will, at least in part, be divided among them, *has come from the agents of this Bureau.* This belief is seriously interfering with the willingness of freedmen to make contracts for the coming year. . . . The Freedmen's Bureau, being separated from the military establishment of the country, requires all the expense of a separate organization. One does not necessarily know what the other is doing, or what orders they are acting under. It seems to me this could be corrected by regarding every officer on duty with troops in the Southern States as agents of the Freedmen's Bureau, and then have all orders from the head of the Bureau sent through the department commanders. This would create a responsibility that would cause the orders and instructions from the head of the Bureau being carried out, and would relieve from duty and pay a large number of employees of the government.

(Signed) "U. S. GRANT,
"*Lieutenant-General.*"

Now, Mr. President, you have here fully and fairly stated our case in South Carolina, and if our State had been kept under the management of the officers of the army of the United States, and the Freedmen's Bureau had been subordinated to their honest direction and supervision, as you advised, instead of being used as a political engine for corrupting the freedmen, and for sowing dissention between the two races, our mission to-day to your Excellency might have been one of congratulation, instead of one for presenting grievances, and invoking commiseration and redress.

Confining itself strictly to the domains of Commerce, the Chamber which we represent rarely comes into personal relations with any of the distinguished men who have occupied the Presidential chair. President Washington visited our city in 1791, and received from the Chamber such hospitality and ad-

dress of welcome as his distinguished patriotism and able administration merited; and the appointment of the delegation before you is, perhaps, the next most important event as connecting the Chamber with public measures. The reply of the Father of his Country to his fellow-citizens of Charleston I venture to quote to your Excellency, as marking the sympathy of a President of that day for a State now greatly needing such support, and which we have every confidence you will practically emulate. He writes:

"GENTLEMEN,—Your congratulations on my arrival in South Carolina, enhanced by the affectionate manner in which they are offered, are received with the most grateful sensibility. Flattered by the favorable sentiments you express of my endeavors to be useful to our country, I desire to assure you of my constant solicitude for its welfare, and of my particular satisfaction in observing the advantages which accrue to the highly deserving citizens of this State from the *operations of the general government*. I am not the less indebted to your expressions of personal attachment and respect; they receive my best thanks, and induce my most sincere wishes for your professional prosperity and your individual happiness.

(Signed) "GEORGE WASHINGTON."

Two of the gentlemen, here present, of our delegation to your Excellency are the sons of merchants then representing the Chamber in doing honor to the first President of the United States, and their situation now, as citizens of a prostrate State, where robbery and misrule prevail, as compared with the South Carolina of their fathers, whose place in the Union was then one of equality, respect, and influence, is well calculated to produce despondency as to the future of our Great Republic, and calls on you, sir, to apply such remedies as the great influence and power of your office clothes you with, to rescue the history of your administration from the foul charge which bad men have put upon it, and when you shall again visit our city, restored to the rights and privileges with which Washington congratulated the Chamber as enjoying, under the benign influence of the Federal government, we shall be able to address you with the same words of veneration and esteem as were accorded the first President, and you will be equally ready to respond in the spirit of his language: "I desire to assure you of my constant solicitude for its welfare, and my particular satisfaction in observing the advantages which accrue to the highly deserving citizens of the State *from the operations of the general govern-*

ment." Your great military fame, enhanced by your generous treatment of the vanquished at the close of our unfortunate civil war, and your liberal and manly report of the condition of the South, already referred to in my remarks, will be greatly illustrated and sustained by a firm civil administration, rebuking and putting down the frauds and misrule of a body of adventurers, who, under the garb of your supporters, are rapidly undermining your administration, impoverishing the people, and degrading the national reputation itself.

Under the reconstruction measures of Congress, manipulated by the carpet-baggers and the corruptions of the Freedmen's Bureau, an entire subversion of every conservative principle or practice of the State took place, and institutions, foreign to the habits of our people, were introduced and operated by strangers. Laws, usages, and the courts themselves, were all changed, and venerated Judges, whose reputation for learning and probity gave our courts at home and abroad an enviable reputation, were displaced, and a code of laws were introduced from another State, wholly out of sympathy with our usages and comprehension, and judges appointed in many cases who had not mastered the lowest rudiments of the law, and in whose integrity no one had confidence, and even judges of our highest court have not escaped from open charges of corruption by members of the Legislature in their places during the session.

Criminals are discharged almost as fast as they are convicted, by pardons granted in consideration of political influence or services. Elections are held by managers, most of whom are candidates or active politicians, appointed by the governor and his immediate agents, no representative of an adverse party being conceded, and even the polls, in many cases, opened at unusual places, without notice. In our own city, at the last election, the oath requiring proof of citizenship was so modified by the partisan managers as to leave out that protection against illegal voting, and large numbers from the rural districts and the surrounding plantations were brought into the city and voted at polls not advertised, so that fifteen hundred more votes were cast at one precinct than the whole number of inhabitants residing there. The registry law which the constitution of the State requires is wholly disregarded, because it would tend to restrain illegality; and in a recent appeal against an illegal election, the judges declined to have the returns examined, or

to receive testimony of voters that confessed they had voted illegally. Charleston, therefore, the great commercial mart of the State, and among the largest of the export cotton ports of the country, has not a single member in the Legislature representing the business interest and property of the city. The two Senators are colored men, and twelve of the eighteen in the Lower House are also colored; with few exceptions, this whole delegation are men of no business or occupation, except that of politics, and in no sense representing the business or useful industry of the city. And what is still worse, it is rare that a respectable colored man can get any appointment, and when the public are so favored, his removal is certain when he neglects or refuses to conform to the fraudulent practices of the party in power, or when a hungry white carpet-bagger covets his office for the emolument; but it must be conceded that offices of high military rank, without salaries, are freely conferred on ambitious colored men, as the frequent military parades fully attest, by the new uniforms. The effect of all this misrule and corruption is seen in the enormous taxation which burthens the industry and commercial enterprise of our city, and drives away capital and population. The taxes in this city on bank capital is nearly six per cent., so that the borrower has to add these taxes to the interest on his loan, and hence thirteen per cent. is the very lowest at which money can be had on the best security in the banks, and of course money borrowed on less known securities, or of private lenders, are at greatly enhanced rates, thus crippling enterprise, and seriously interfering with trade and industry.

The report of the city treasurer, just made public, shows that nearly one-third of the yearly taxation is in default, and subject of sale in the city, and I perceive that over two hundred and eighty-eight thousand acres of land, and the buildings thereon, have been forfeited for taxes due the State for the year 1872, for the small aggregate sum of thirty-two thousand dollars, which is less than twelve cents per acre, which the impoverished owners have been unable to pay to save their property from confiscation. I know of a landed estate in the city, consisting of a good class of tenement houses, kept in fine order, and valued for taxation at one hundred thousand dollars; the property is all rented at satisfactory rates, and yet, after paying taxes and insurance, and such small repairs as tenants require, the owner

has not realized one cent the past year for the capital invested. The house in which I live myself would not rent for the taxes and insurance, to say nothing of the capital invested in its value and the necessary repairs to keep it in order.

The State authorities first overthrew the credit of the State by fraudulent issues of bonds, and then repudiate not only their own issues, but also scale down to half their value that part of the bonds of their honest predecessors, for which the public creditor honestly parted with his money, and which the State has the full benefit of, by an honest application of the funds. Having exhausted their credit, and wasted the public funds, the Legislature are proceeding to spoliation, under the name of taxation.

So anxious were the conservative people to have an honest administration of the affairs of the city of Charleston, and of the State, that no Democratic nominations have been made; but on the contrary, candidates of both colors from the Republican party have received the support of conservative men, in every election, on principles of financial reform; and yet every election since the active political contests have ceased seems to have brought into power in the State government, with few exceptions, officials of more effrontery in their frauds and misrule than it was believed possible to obtain in any community, outside of a penitentiary. Among the few honorable exceptions, I would name most of our members of Congress, white and colored, and small minorities in the city and State Legislature, who are, however, so powerless as to be of no practical utility for reform, but, on the contrary, are in peril, because of their very exceptional honesty, of losing their positions at the next election; for every election in this State sacrifices a part of this honest minority, and reduces their number in proportion as their integrity becomes obvious to the corrupt ring which rules the State, by the manipulation of the ballot-boxes, and the appointment of the whole machinery of the election. Congress should apply the remedy by special election laws and other measures of relief, and even then the use of money is to be feared in a State where members of the Legislature, in open session, accuse the judges of the highest court of receiving bribes for favorable decisions, and when legislation is openly sold for money, and no bill, however useful to the public interest, can be passed without payment of money for legislative action.

In view of these evils, we ask your influence, sir, with the councils of the nation, and hope for a message to Congress evincing the sympathy in our cause which we know you entertain. We feel confident that Congress will exercise the same power to correct the evils which we are constrained to say their reconstruction measures produced. The proposition cannot be controverted, that the power to make a law can certainly modify or abolish it; and while we freely concede that the reconstruction measures were intended only to protect the freedmen's rights, yet the most earnest in their cause now admit that the rights of white men, and their estates, have been too much sacrificed in the theory, and that, practically, both the interest of the white and colored citizens in this State have been made the victims of the rapacity of the corrupt carpet-baggers. But apart from all this, we rely on the constitutional power of Congress to guarantee to us a republican form of government, not in name, but in fact, the substance of that which we hope for. If a shadow, as some contend, it must proceed from a substance, and must be *that* form which was in practical execution, and was contemplated by the Constitution when the States confederated to maintain the principle so essential to freedom. Hamilton, Madison, and even Calhoun, the great embodiment of the extreme doctrine of States-rights, not only concede the power of Congress to reform evils in a State, under the fourth Article of the Constitution, but show conclusively that they anticipated our present situation as the proper application of that correctionary measure. The remedies are fully within the power of Congress, without the exercise of extreme or revolutionary measures. An amendment of the State constitution to protect minorities and restrict the power of majorities, by the application of the *cumulative* system of voting, so successfully in force in England and in many of our own States, will go far to protect the rights of property and persons against fraud and misrule, and yet preserve manhood or individual suffrage as fully as it now exists to every class of citizens. Or an amendment by which members of the State Senate should be elected by tax-payers only, would protect the people from extravagant appropriations or fraudulent use of the public money, and conserve the public interest generally, especially if properly sustained by an effective registry law and a proper protection of the purity of the ballot, now utterly degraded to serve the purposes of those in power.

Mr. President, it appears to us that Congress must deal with this evil, and reform the work of reconstruction, and correct the malign influence of the Freedmen's Bureau, which you so clearly saw cropping out in its early history. The whole country, of every party and race, and, indeed, the whole world, are shocked and disgusted with the present rule in South Carolina. The safety and protection of the interests of the public creditors, as well as the oppressed property-holder, and the civilization and prosperity of the colored race itself, need immediate active measures on the part of Congress to reform these abuses. The reputation of your administration is even at stake in this connection, because these public robbers have succeeded in identifying themselves as your supporters, and justify their corrupt measures as in sympathy with your policy. They misrepresent our opposition to their frauds as rebellion towards the government and opposition to your administration; whereas, the people of South Carolina are as loyal to the government and laws of the United States as any people in this Union, and have had too hard a struggle for means to support their impoverished families to give any time to party issues. We therefore, sir, approach you as American citizens should approach the Chief Magistrate of our nation, not as partisans, but with that respect for your person and high office which justifies our confidence that your administration disregards party or sectional lines in meting out that justice and protection which the humblest citizen has a right to expect at the hands of the representative of a great and free people.

It has been well said, Mr. President, by a distinguished hero of our own navy, that "blood is thicker than water," and the truth of this maxim is attested by the universal sympathy of the whole North for the South at this time of our extremity, not only as shown by the spirited editorials denouncing the carpet-bag rule in the South, which appear in every respectable journal of the North, and the letters of our Northern brethren who visit the South to investigate for themselves, but in the earnestly expressed opinions of every public man, in and out of Congress, whom I have met or corresponded with. All, like yourself, sir, are in full sympathy with us, and earnestly desire our restoration to that equality in the republic, and that form of republican government which would enable them, should they wish, or their children, to locate in South Carolina, without that degra-

dation which now humiliates us, feeling, with true American hearts, that the flag of our Union is to be an emblem of fraternal unity and equality among the citizens of every State, and not of sectional hostility or carpet-bag domination. Foremost in this generous sympathy, I would name Charles Sumner, the consistent, the constant, and successful advocate of the freedom and political equality of the colored man. Sir, our hearts are softened, and our sectional, party, and personal prejudices are subdued, if not eradicated, when we contemplate with sorrow the departure of that illustrious New England Senator, who has just passed away from the sphere of his usefulness in the very zenith of his national reputation; whose life of integrity and zeal, in a stern and, at times, unpopular advocacy of his own peculiar political doctrine, has been marked by an independence of thought and action which, however much many of us have hitherto differed from him, challenges our respect, and in his disregard of public clamor or the blandishments of legislative temptation, stands singularly prominent in these times of demagogism and official depravity. The South, Mr. President, has reason to appreciate sympathy in her fallen fortunes and honesty in her impoverished condition, and hence the tear of gratitude and of heartfelt sorrow irresistibly falls on the graves of such men as Horace Greeley and Charles Sumner.

This mutual interchange of respect, sympathy, and good-will between the North and the South is grateful to the heart of every patriot. Small prejudicial minds of both sections may attempt to deprecate the coming era of good-will which converts our hearts into one homogeneous national unity, overleaping State lines, sectional or party dissensions, and, as a Greeley and a Sumner now find places in the gratitude of the Southern heart, so, Mr. President, in time will Lee and Stonewall Jackson be regarded, with yourself, among the military heroes of our common country.

SPEECH IN REPLY TO HON. CHAUNCEY M. DEPEW.

DELIVERED AT WHITE PLAINS, NEW YORK, OCTOBER 30, 1888.

Mr. Depew is always genial and always witty, having a felicitous expression in his use of the innuendo, which captivates our attention, if it does not satisfy the understanding, and withal his arguments are so entangled as to make it difficult to answer him in matters of controversy. He is skilful, too, in drawing the minds of his hearers away from the real issue, where fact and experience would be strikingly against him, and he covers up with great ingenuity those things which he wishes to conceal. He reminds me of the couter, a kind of reptile of the turtle species, which lives in the Southern rivers. Desiring to conceal their eggs from the alligators, they cover them over carefully in one part of the shore, smoothing the mud over the place with the dexterity of concealment, and going a long distance off scratch up the mud to lure the alligator in that quarter away from the true nest. So, when you think you have one of his arguments and attempt to grasp it, it slips away in a criticism, and as the negro said in describing the difficulty of keeping an eel, "De more you hold him, de more you no hold him at all." His arguments are as intelligible as a fog; you cannot grasp them. The fog whistle certifies the existence of a medium of obscurity and the presence of danger to the mariner, but there is no means of avoiding what cannot be seen. Hence the difficulty of meeting the arguments which this distinguished Republican formulates in defence of the right to tax labor for the benefit of capital, and to *protect the rich at the expense of the poor.*

This is the real issue, divested of the jargon of party politics. This is the real nest where the eggs are hatched, and I propose to show the place, notwithstanding the attempt to lure us away by ingenious deceptions from the point which concerns our real interest and which comes home to every man whose industry

and enterprise is his only fortune, and on whom our great country depends for its national progress and the individual prosperity of ourselves and our families.

I assert now, once for all, that by reason of this false and unfair protective system *the rich are becoming richer and the poor poorer;* that the small advance of wages does not keep pace with the enormous advance of the cost of living.

This gentleman is not only the representative of his party in sentiment, but a leader next in importance to the plumed knight himself. His reputation for wit and readiness as an orator is great; he not only graces every banquet in our own country, but his mental resources of conception and declamation have electrified the most refined and critical of foreign audiences. He is justly regarded as the greatest after-dinner speaker in the world, having few rivals in the lecture department, being equipped with a wonderful degree of interesting information and an exhaustless repertory of wit in imparting it.

But, gentlemen, with all these accomplishments, he fails to create *something out of nothing.* The greatest minds cannot give substance to soap-bubbles, nor coin sunshine out of cucumbers, as Dean Swift's genius attempted. The soap-bubble is a beautiful creation, but his argument in favor of protection as a blessing to labor collapses as soon as pricked by sober reason and plain common sense. The sunbeams from cucumbers are just as genial to the naked person as oppressive taxation is to the needy workman.

"Flattering words butter no parsnips," is an old and wise adage. He uses glowing generalities as to our country's greatness and the great men that have shaped our destinies, or even the coincidence of parties with success or failure of past issues. Even if he were correct, as he is not, his argument would not meet the exigencies of the present. His wit submerges his logic. Distressing and unequal taxation is particularly made to rest on labor by a ruthless discrimination which taxes the necessities of life instead of the fixed capital of the country, by which not less than one-third of the hard earnings of the mechanic, the laborer, and indeed every citizen who lives by exercise of his mental and physical powers contribute. The enterprise and the labor of our country are made in this way to bear the chief burthen of taxation, instead of being levied on the realized wealth of the capitalists. This is practically assented to by both parties,

CHAUNCEY DEPEW.

but our manufacturing friends, when they come to legislate for a division of the burthen, offer the workman, with a show of plausibility indicated in Mr. Depew's speech, the same choice that the Yankee did to the Indian hunter: "You take the crow and I will take the turkey, or I will take the turkey and you take the crow." The Indian listened but made no reply. The Yankee said, "Why don't you choose?" The Indian replied as our workmen might reply: "You no say turkey to me once."

The laborers, even in the protected industries, constituting not over one-twentieth of our whole population, derive no positive advantage from these excessive duties. Who ever heard of an advance of wages equal to from sixty to ninety per cent. being conceded to the workman, because of the legislative advantage given to manufacturing and mining corporations? Demand and supply only regulate the wages of labor with or without a tariff. The promises of these Republicans, when realized by experience, remind me of the clergyman who desired to indoctrinate his parishioners with the mythical part of theology. He quoted, with proper unction, "And the asses snuffled up the east wind." This puzzled many of his hearers, but a horse jockey when asked what he inferred from it, replied, "It would take a long while for the asses to get fat on it."

Mr. Depew gives a witty paragraph on the President and his cabinet, which in an after-dinner speech would set the table in a roar. So full of good-natured criticism, ready application of historical incidents, and real compliments to the integrity, cultivation, and versatility of their experience as statesmen, from college life down to Professor Sumner's free-trade lectures, recognizing particularly the honest manhood of the President, so as to leave one in doubt whether his respect for their high character does not detract from his loyalty to his party. There is not a single attempt in this argument to prove the practical value of protection, or tendency to show that a moderate reduction of the tariff would not be an essential reform in the interest of labor and a national benefit. His chief attack seems to be levelled at free-trade, an issue which does not exist, and never has existed in this country. In this connection he cites the fine arts. His membership in the Lotus Club has filled his mind with art, and he proposes the painting of the portraits of the fathers of the republic to inspire the patriotism of the rising generation, etc., etc.

He says, "There needs to be a great artist in this country, not an imported artist, but a native one; a man that can paint a picture that we all understand; an historical picture. One of George Washington, Alexander Hamilton, Thomas Jefferson, and James Madison,—all these worthies of the Revolution looking back over one hundred years at the result of their policy."

Yes, but *protection* would look in vain for authority to tax the people seventy per cent. on the necessities of life to gorge the treasury of favored corporations. Every one of these distinguished men are on record in favor of moderate taxation and against unfair discrimination.

Hamilton's was a revenue tariff, and did not exceed fifteen per cent. This tariff and the statesmen he names would now be considered by Mr. Depew's party as extreme free-traders. No Democrat has ever advocated a tariff of less than twenty per cent. Mr. Clay's compromise of twenty per cent. gave the lead.

Mr. Madison, in defending his views at the time (see Benton's "History of the Senate"), says,—

"I own myself as a friend of a very free system of commerce. If industry and labor are left free to take their own course they will generally be directed to those objects which are most productive, and that in a manner more certain and direct than the wisdom of the most enlightened Legislature would point out, nor do I believe that the national interest is more promoted by such legislative direction than the interest of the individual concerned."

Now, gentlemen, this is the exact policy of the Democratic party to-day, which Mr. Depew ignores while pretending to have great reverence for the opinions and legislation of the fathers of our country. Mr. Cleveland's admirable message to Congress on this subject simply formulates Mr. Madison's views of public policy in regard to a tariff.

In his cartoon he should place prominently first the Democratic reformers, Jefferson, who emancipated us from federalism, Jackson, from the corrupting influence of the United States Bank, and Cleveland, who is striving to emancipate us from the despotism of protected corporations, trusts, and syndicates.

This Democratic trinity of great reformers would well employ the pencil of his artist in illustration of our history. The future Raphaels of the Lotos Club might paint and the critics of the

Union League admire and venerate the two former, but Grover Cleveland would stand out in bold relief among our historical figures of great men as the first President who made an earnest effort for the relief of labor and a reduction of unjust taxes by an appeal to Congress in a special annual message on the subject hitherto neglected by his own party. Mr. Depew's declaration of hostility to the infamous practice of corporations coercing votes is timely, politic, and I believe honest, but I am quite sure that his friends will regard this as a brilliant generality for the stump, but not for practice. I recall just such a moral impulse of this kind agitating the hearts of a couple of men robbing a hen-roost. One of them, glancing up in the perches of the hen-house said, "Jim [not Blaine], I think this is wrong to steal this man's poultry. He has always been our friend, and can ill afford to lose them, and stealing poultry is after all a moral offence." Jim said, "That is so, that is so; but hand down another pullet while you are up there."

His next is a glowing and well-earned eulogy on the preservation of our Union and our ability to pay the expense thereof, and yet leave a full treasury for Mr. Cleveland to disperse. Bring this down to plain facts, and we find that the patriotism of all parties filled our armies, led chiefly by Democratic generals, McClellan, Grant, Thomas, Schofield, McPherson, and directed by our War Secretary, Stanton, a fellow-Tammanyite with myself. The payment of our national debt is due to the productive labor of our country, which footed the bills and found them enormously increased by the herd of speculators who have been steadily robbing the Treasury ever since the war, and whose chief objection to Mr. Cleveland's administration is his manly opposition to legislative robbing of the people's money.

Free-trade and States-rights he calls "the twins." This title, to what does not exist, reminds me of a comprehensive index to a work on Ireland. The title under the alphabetical heading was "Snakes in Ireland." When you turned to the page indicated you found the words, "There are no snakes in Ireland." The tariff issue of to-day involves no question of States-rights or of free-trade. Mr. Mills's bill of forty-three per cent. duty cannot be construed as *free-trade;* and States-rights never had nor can have any possible relation to a reduction of taxes in all the States. The antagonism is between the laborer, who pays the unjust tariff, and the manufacturer and mining corporations,

who receive the product of the robbery. These are the real twin robbers who despoil the laborer of his hard-won earnings.

He intimates that the South is to be favored with a tariff on sugar. If so, it is but a tub to the whale to reach the unsound section; and indeed their sectional feeling for relief is not to be wondered at, when they see the cotton and wool manufacturers of the East, the wool producers of the West, and the mining districts generally, are dividing *the spoils of a protective* policy. It is, I say, not wonderful that the South, having rice and sugar, should desire to share a portion of the spoils of this corrupt legislation.

Such a deal between the protection sugar interests of the South, and the mining and manufacturing interests of the East and West reminds me of a dispute of two boys who had gone to bed together. One of them complained to his mother that John was not willing to let him have half of the bed. She replied, "My son, you are quite unreasonable; the bed is for your joint occupancy." "But," said the other, "he wants his half in the middle."

Mr. Depew's legal training ought to have given him at least a partial appreciation of the fundamental elements of our federative union, in which State sovereignty has been sustained by our highest courts, an essential feature of the binding force of our national union, and as binding as the national supremacy itself. One of the Western States emphasizes this element by adopting as its motto "*State Sovereignty* and National Union," which implies the sovereignty of one and the supremacy of the other. The empire of Great Britain, a monarchy, is now being forced to contemplate the right of local self-government. Gladstone and Parnell are nobly fighting for the state right of Ireland against the centralizing government of Great Britain. Union without centralization, the right of local self-government coupled with national supremacy, is simply an emanation from the New England practice of their town governments, all in harmony with the provisions of the national Constitution, which alone defines the powers of each to the others. If the attempted secession of the South was caused by an unwarranted perversion of *States-rights*, so, too, a disregard of States-rights would lead to centralization and despotic rule, the bane of republics and the ultimate destruction of liberty itself, the existence of which puts in peril the republican tenure of France at this time.

But all this is as irrelevant to questions of taxation as is the problem of the New England pedagogue, with which to puzzle his pupils, "If a pint of rum will cost sixpence, what will a rooster weigh?"

The sole question before the people in this canvass he admits to be simply a theory of taxation. Is is not *free-trade* against *protection*, but a modification of his protective theory, in which the Democracy seeks to have the tariff modified so as to give our manufacturers and mining interests an average of forty-five per cent. duty instead of sixty-seven per cent., and in consideration of this reduction on the necessities of life to give them free raw material by which the foreign markets can be opened to them. This forty-five per cent. duty, it is well known, covers double the cost of producing the articles protected, so that the pauper labor of Europe cannot be set up as an excuse for the enormous prices now levied on the articles consumed chiefly by the labor of the country.

I look in vain for any argument on this head. It is true, he informs us that many of the manufactures, mines, and railways are not paying as large dividends as formerly, but he omits to tell us that watered stock has been the mode of disguising the enormous profits of many of those corporations, in which the large interests he so ably administers in the Central Railway and the other Vanderbilt corporations are prominent instances where the public have cause to regret this expedient.

Indeed, the large dividends which he quotes as earned by these corporations in former times are the best proof that the protective tariff then needed reduction. Whereas, while they were every year besieging Congress for an increase of duties, in some cases they have overreached themselves, because the increased cost of the raw material and of railway iron, keeping pace with the increase of duty, simply not only curtailed their profits and the demand for their goods in other countries, but impoverished the consumer by their increase of prices in their own.

Hence the numerous strikes of workmen in railways and other corporations, because while wages have been advanced at times, the increase fell far short of the increased cost of living. Under a moderate tariff strikes were hardly known, whereas they now number thousands where they were tens before.

He tells us truly that the profits of labor have certainly been

diminishing. This is true, because that is a law of demand and supply, when the labor of the country increases faster, largely caused by the emigration of what he calls the pauper labor, than there is capital to employ it, and our protective tariff limits the market to home consumption. England, by keeping access to the markets of the world under her policy of free raw material, has increased her demand for labor, and wages have been greatly increased on the one hand and the necessities of life cheapened on the other by *free-trade*. The profits of our labor therefore have been diminished because the protective tariff has increased the cost of living more than the advance of wages. It is not the amount of wages paid that is to be considered in this connection, but the quantity of the necessities of life they will procure.

He tells us affirmatively, for the first time, that the tariff does not tax, it distributes, and that seven million of our inhabitants live in other States than those in which they were born. He might have added that many millions more were born abroad, but it is difficult to perceive how the tariff brings about this migration from one State to another. We have hitherto supposed our cheap fertile lands to have produced this distribution of labor to the West; and the employment of one hundred thousand men in the Bessemer rail and soda ash industry, which he quotes, gives no good reason for a tax on iron of from sixty to ninety per cent., when the whole cost of labor in producing it is but nine per cent., as shown by Senator Beck in a recent speech before the Senate.

The distribution he refers to, therefore, seems to be of the peoples' money into the pockets of these protected corporations.

If these corporations, as he claims, call for more labor, and therefore put wages up, what is the meaning of these constant strikes, and why do these monopolies give to labor but nine per cent. of the seventy to ninety per cent. which the tariff gives them to protect them against so-called pauper labor, and why do they import so largely of pauper labor itself to compete with native industry, if the object is to protect American labor and *put wages up?*

The reduction of price which he quotes in Bessemer steel rails and other products he well knows was due to discoveries and inventions, which cheapen the processes of production. This

is due to the inventive genius of our people and of the age, and is not a product of the protective tariff.

Advanced science, invention, and cheap transit necessarily cheapen commodities, and tend to advance wages as well as the purchasing power of the wages, while a protective tariff, enhancing the cost of the raw material, tends to the reduction of wages, by restricting the demand for the products of labor, while the whole community is overtaxed by high prices.

It is an instructive fact that Waltham watches, sewing-machines, type-writers, agricultural implements, and other articles requiring little raw or cheap material and large expenditures of labor are the only articles we are able to export. Give us free raw material, and we can contest the markets of the world.

The most protected article is emphatically the most striking example to show that the people are taxed to the full amount of the tariff on all they consume, while the government receives but a small portion in duties on the limited importation of such favored articles. It is believed that not less than one thousand millions of dollars are annually realized by these protected corporations, caused by the increased price of the articles made at home, while the government derives not a tenth of that sum on the duties of the limited importations. One might hope that competition would keep the price of the domestic article within reasonable bounds, but syndicates pooling and trust monopolies have been originated to keep the prices up to standard, of which the Standard Oil Company is an example, and Mr. Depew can enlighten you as to the railway methods of pooling.

He follows this with an admirable description of the growth and enterprise of our country, and would have us infer that the protective tariff was at the bottom of all this thrift, including our school-houses and homesteads everywhere.

These homesteads are agricultural homes. The homesteads he boasts of are certainly not the product of protection. It would be difficult for him to find one hundred homesteads belonging to factory operators in all New England, or in the mining districts of Pennsylvania. These buildings are always the property of the corporation, for which operatives pay a large rent, and when out of employ they are generally compelled to vacate the buildings.

We have hitherto supposed that agriculture and commerce

had something to do with our national wealth and progress, and that taxation of any kind was simply a necessary drawback, and not an element of profit to the individual or nation. Indeed, the highest legal authorities have held that taxes in excess of an economical use of government are simply spoliation.

And apart from an unfair and unreasonable tariff, which increases the prices of the necessities of life chiefly consumed by labor while hardly reaching the smallest portion of the rich man's income, we have the further evil of one hundred millions a year taken from the public beyond the necessities of the nation now lying in the Treasury, and which would be squandered by Congress if we had not an honest President in Grover Cleveland to veto corrupt or extravagant legislation.

This one hundred million dollars, if left with the tax-payers, as it ought to be, would largely tend to increase wages by creating a larger demand for labor.

I would have every laborer to understand that labor, like all valuable commodities, is the subject of competition, and wages, like all prices, rise and fall with demand and supply, on which a tariff has no influence.

The more money in the hands of the people, the more demand for labor. When taxes or any other means, therefore, empty their pockets, this demand for labor falls off, and one hundred million dollars a year taken from the pockets of the people is a large element towards reducing wages. Therefore, Mr. Depew's idea of sustaining a policy of spoliation to develop manufacturing or mining corporations may enrich them, but it beggars labor.

He informs us of a drunken scene he witnessed in Glasgow, and seems to endorse the remark of his Scotch friend that *poverty produced this drunkenness.*

Hitherto we have supposed that drunkenness produced poverty. It is difficult to perceive what relation this has to a *protective tariff.* In the first place, drunkenness has not been regarded as a Scotch vice, nor is poverty an entail of that thrifty people. Under free-trade her artisans supply ships to the world and make much of the best textile fabrics.

New York and other American cities, I fear, could furnish further examples of drunkenness. Excessive taxation does not seem to be a remedy against this vice. I have grave doubts whether a protective tariff would insure sobriety in Glasgow,

but I am sure that it would lead to poverty of workingmen, as it is doing here.

He tells us truly that the Constitution of 1787 has made us all what we are. It is to be regretted that his party has not only opposed a strict construction of it, but is constantly, as in this very address of his, foisting powers in Congress nowhere to be found in that admirable, well-expressed, and restrictive document. For instance, after quoting just the article which empowers Congress to regulate commerce with foreign nations, to lay and collect taxes, duties, and imposts for the defence and general welfare of the country, mark this, not for protection of manufacturers and mines, he cooly adds, "*which included a protective tariff.*"

In time his progressive logic will include the right to water stock as an incident of railway management and to originate corporate trusts to aid the protective system in fleecing the public by extravagant prices.

If he will acquaint himself with the early history of the Revolution, he will find that among the chief grievances inflicted by Great Britain and resisted by the patriots of our Revolution was the restrictions placed upon trade, as well as an unlawful tariff on tea, and if he will further investigate let him refer to page 323 of the eighth volume of Bancroft, where we will find that the first use of national independence by Congress was the passage of an act of free-trade with all the world not subject to the king of Great Britain. "This vote," says the historian, "abolished the British custom-houses and instituted none in their stead."

"Absolute free-trade took the place of heavy restrictions; the products of the world could be imported from any place in any friendly bottom, and the products of American industry, in like manner, exported without a tax."

Now, these patriotic men were not only the fathers of our liberties, but the originators of our Constitution; hence, *protection* was left out in the cold because of the institution of a government for the people who had successfully resisted oppressive taxation.

He seems to dwell on *States-rights,* a kind of Banquo's ghost to his fevered imagination, as he contemplates the impoverishment of the labor and the destruction of the commerce of his country.

He dashes off to some distant point of our history, hoping to divert from himself and others the responsibility of his party for their modern and obvious violation of every principle of equal government and of republican equality.

He says that "when *States-rights* got into power, after the War of 1812, they broke down the tariff which had been created, and the whole country went into bankruptcy."

It should be remembered that our war-ships which conquered in that conflict with Great Britain carried at their mastheads the then American motto, "*Free-Trade and Sailors' Rights.*"

And if Mr. Depew will also turn to page 582 of the fourth volume of Hildreth's History of the United States, he will find the history of the first tariff for protection was the production of Mr. Dallas, and was introduced to Congress and advocated by John C. Calhoun and other *States-rights* members.

"This tariff," as the historian says, "amounting on an average to an increase of forty-two per cent. above the old rates of the tariff preceding the war of but fifteen per cent.," is what Mr. Depew refers to. Indeed, his history is as defective as his logic. I cannot resist quoting the same historian, page 582, which shows the disastrous nature of high tariffs such as that just quoted.

"By it," says Hildreth, "foreign trade has revived, especially the importation of foreign goods, and under the present double duties bonds to an unexpected amount were rapidly accumulated in the Treasury. This seemed to many a proof of prosperity, but the question began to be asked by the more wary, Now that the carrying trade was at an end and the exportation of provisions to be greatly curtailed, how were all these imports to be paid for?"

Page 588 shows that Webster and the New England Congressmen opposed this bill, while it was supported by Calhoun, Loundes, and *States-rights* men generally.

If Mr. Depew will consult the first page of the third volume of Mr. Benton's "Thirty Years in the Senate," and, indeed, any history of the time, he will find that the bankruptcy he refers to, occurring after the War of 1812, was occasioned by no change in the tariff, for I have shown that the tariff was increased forty-two per cent. over that which had prevailed before the abolition of which Mr. Depew deplores, but that the currency had become so deranged, the expense of the war so great, the

destruction of business so widely spread, as to not only impoverish individuals but to destroy the credit of the government, which the Federal party in New England, represented by the Hartford convention, which virtually threatened to secede and make terms with the enemy in time of war, had done everything to accomplish.

"The first bank of the United States had ceased to exist," says our author. "Gold from being undervalued had ceased to be a currency, and was carried to foreign countries, silver had been banished by the general use of bank-notes, local banks overspread the land, and upon those the Federal government, having lost the currency of the Constitution, was thrown for currency and for loans."

Treasury notes were the only resort of the Federal government. They were issued in great quantities, and, not being convertible into coin, soon began to depreciate in the second year of the war. An officer setting out from Washington with a supply of notes found them sunk one-third by the time he arrived at the "Northern frontier" to pay the army.

Largely to the disloyalty of New England during the War of 1812 is to be attributed the fearful ordeal of that financial depression to which he refers so earnestly. A recovery from which is due, so far as Mr. Depew's favorite remedy, a protective tariff, is concerned, to the *States-rights* patriots, such as John C. Calhoun, who introduced and carried the protective tariff which he attributes to Mr. Clay. I would remind him that his oracle, Mr. Clay, is the author of the compromise tariff of 1833, which was wisely intended to gradually reduce the tariff to a horizontal rate of but twenty per cent., which is less than a third of the present tariff which he eulogizes and sustains.

And now, with all his admiration for the sound judgment of the father of the protective system, he is not satisfied with Mr. Mills's bill, which gives these monopolies forty-five per cent. of the people's money as a bonus against foreign labor, being more than double the average wages paid by them for the labor producing the protected article.

Mr. Depew's constant irrelevant reference to early history in this connection reminds me of a story told by a popular village gossip who had enlisted the admiration of his boon companions at the tavern by his large repertory of damaging stories reflecting on their political and social rivals. Now, there came a time

(much like the present in our political affairs) when neither cause nor taste for scandal existed. But our rural oracle was still expected to entertain them by startling stories and stirring events. He had for the first time been reading Josephus, and, regardless of that author's antique date, entertained his admirers at the next meeting with the startling fact that the Roman General Titus, with his pagan army, had actually invaded Jerusalem. This created a profound sensation and enlisted the sympathy of his audience for the dangers of that chosen people.

They looked forward with great anxiety to their next interview, as he should read further, and were plunged into the most profound sorrow when he related that Jerusalem had surrendered.

Now, gentlemen, the village gossip had carefully read and quoted ancient history, though not very timely; but our Republican orator, as I have shown, is not only unfortunately *untimely,* but wonderfully *incorrect.*

No ingenuity can entirely cover up this enormous legislative fraud, if people will only open their eyes. A plausible thief went into a Quaker's grocery, and while flattering him on his success and the cheapness of his goods, with great dexterity secreted a dried codfish under his coat. The observing Quaker, perceiving the tail of the fish protruding below his coat, said, "Friend, thy words are very fine, but thou must steal a shorter fish or wear a longer coat."

Out of respect to the distinguished orator and statesman, I have occupied a large portion of your time in replying to his speech, as it has been published, circulated, and entitled a "Campaign Speech," in which the Republican party presents its strongest arguments as uttered by its most distinguished advocate and leader.

I will now venture a few remarks, giving my own views of the practical objections to the present tariff and my reasons for sustaining the admirable and judicious conservative reform which the Mills bill proposes, in accordance with the statesmanlike policy of President Cleveland and the well-settled policy of the Democratic party for a reduction of taxes, now greatly in excess of the economical need of the government and bearing unequally on labor.

A reduction of duties which leaves over forty per cent. protection cannot be considered as free-trade, and we find by the last

census that the annual product of the protected industries was $5,360,000,000, and that the whole wages of labor aggregated but $947,000,000, about seventeen per cent., while under the moderate tariff of 1850 the operators of that time received twenty-five per cent. of the annual product. So that statistics show that wages are higher under a low tariff than under a high one. The reason of this is, that the high cost of the new raw material when subjected to a high import duty always effects a reduction of wages as well as reduces the purchasing power of the consumer and the access to foreign markets.

It is also true that statistics show that when a tariff is chiefly levied on the necessities of life, as this one is, any advance of wages will be far exceeded by the greater advance of the cost of living.

In 1843, a period of moderate tariff, wages were but one dollar a day and ten articles of supply cost $14; in 1864 the present high tariff wages ran up to $1.50 a day, but the same articles had risen to $46. Wages advanced in Massachusetts sixty-three per cent. between 1860 and 1865, in one hundred and two establishments employing forty thousand operators, but seventeen articles of living advanced one hundred per cent. by the Boston price current.

I have before me a list of twenty articles, necessities of life and tools used by mechanics and laborers, which pay a duty of from forty-five to one hundred and twenty per cent. No wages that our manufacturers can possibly pay will justify such an advance on the cost of living. Hence the strikes and poverty which this tariff has produced among our workmen.

The duties levied on woollen goods are some $27,000,000 annually, $24,000,000 of which is paid by our tailors and other manufacturing clothiers. This duty on their raw material not only tends to reduce the profits of labor in that department, but we actually import $50,000,000 worth of clothing because of the duty on wool, and this deprives our tailors of the employment of labor to that extent, which is a fair example of the injury to labor by a heavy tariff on raw material, while taxing all consumers with not less than forty to sixty per cent. on their clothing.

The duties received by the government on woollens and cotton goods and on iron and steel is but $62,000,000, while the public is made to contribute by the advanced price on the domestic

articles, by actual sale, $600,000,000 over and above the normal price.

It is believed that over $1,000,000,000 are drawn from the public in this way on commodities of necessity.

The unreasonableness of these high duties is proved by Senator Beck before the Senate of the United States, who shows from carefully compiled statistics that the average wages on fifty kinds of iron and steel productions are $393 a year, but little over eight per cent. of a product on which a duty of seventy-seven per cent. is levied, leaving a clear profit to these corporations of sixty-nine per cent. This may protect capital, but it does not favor labor. Hence the enormous fortunes of the projectors of the favored corporations whose extravagant luxury and expenditures in Europe astonish and vie with the titled magnates of that country, while their operatives are at the edge of starvation, especially in the mining districts; and yet we are told that the protective tariff raises wages.

Wages in Lowell during the era of protection, 1839 to 1845, were $6 a week. In the same place during a moderate tariff, 1840 to 1859, wages were $7.82 to $8.59 a week.

But, after all, wages, like any other valuable commodity, as I have already remarked, rise and fall as demand and supply act upon them. Wages cannot be forced up, but taxes can be forced down; a more effectual remedy than strikes is the ballot-box and a determination to succeed.

The duty on iron in 1860 was $42; wheat sold that year for $1.50 a bushel, and hay $1.10 a hundredweight. In 1870 iron rose to $86, wheat fell to $1.23 a bushel, and hay to seventy cents a hundredweight. These are but a few of the examples which the statistics of labor show. It is well understood by every intelligent man, who is at all familiar with international labor and wages, that, as Senator Evarts, Mr. Blaine, and Garfield have admitted, while wages are higher in our country than in Europe, our operatives not only labor more hours each day, but are so much more skilful and industrious as to more than realize the difference in greater production, and it is a suggestive fact that the only commodities we are able to send abroad are those that have the least raw material and the largest amount of skill and labor.

To show that cheap untaxed raw material is at the very foundation of manufacturing success and liberal wages, I will simply

inform you that while wages are forty-two per cent. higher in free-trade England than in protected Germany, yet England floods Germany with her manufactures, and Germany is only able to sell raw material to England, who is wise enough not to burthen it with a tariff.

England, since the introduction of Mr. Peel's free-trade policy, pays the highest wages in Europe and commands the markets of the world by her extensive and untrammelled commerce.

No nation can succeed in its manufacturing industry which does not foster commerce to extend the markets, because the more widespread the market, the more employment for operatives and the more liberal the wages to labor employed.

Free-trade in England spread her commerce all over the world and raised wages nearly to a level with our own, while cheapening her articles of consumption.

We have pursued the opposite policy since 1860, and while wages have somewhat advanced, not by reason of the tariff, but because of the higher cost of living necessitating it, yet it is well known that our workmen are at present unable to save anything against sickness and old age. It is worthy of remark here, that while the operatives in many of the protected industries are at the verge of starvation, in the mining districts especially, the unprotected farmers and mechanics are comparatively well off. Up to 1860 we had built yearly some four hundred seagoing ships of the first class. The tariff was then levied on the raw material, and we do not now build forty. So that our shipyards, formerly a feature of our industry, are now merely repair-shops hiring but few hands. Our ships were formerly the models of architecture for the world, and they not only divided the sovereignty of the seas with Great Britain, but carried seventy-five per cent. of our own commerce, and largely of British freights, as our ships carried cheaper and made the voyages speedier. Out of some three thousand cargoes of our own grain shipped last year to Europe, not one hundred were under our own flag, and we now have not a single steamship crossing the Atlantic.

We pay in freights and passage money to the British and other foreign flags yearly not less than $150,000,000 which ought to go to American sailors and ship-builders. The Republicans call this *protection* of American industry against the pauper

labor of Europe. To prove this decadence I will state that in 1870 we had seven thousand sea-going ships; in 1886 we had but six thousand; in 1870 we had five hundred and ninety-seven sea-going steamers; in 1886 we had but three hundred and seventy.

England's free-trade policy has doubled her steamer fleet on the ocean in the sixteen years, while we have been declining. In 1870 she had but two thousand four hundred of these vessels; in 1886 they are increased to about six thousand. On the other hand, our tonnage increased under this moderate tariff of 1840 to 1850 from some two million to over three million. Under the present tariff, from 1860 to 1870 our tonnage fell off from five million to four million. This decline of shipping is quite disgraceful in the face of an enormous increase of our population and wealth. While our navy is quite contemptible as compared with even the smallest maritime nations of the earth, it is quite consistent with the legislative policy which ignores foreign commerce and fosters domestic monopolies.

New South Wales and Victoria, large provinces of Great Britain in Australia, teach a useful lesson on this subject by comparison; up to 1856 they both enjoyed comparative free-trade, but Victoria was induced to try the protective policy. In 1886, twenty years' experience shows that in every particular of national improvement and progress New South Wales, the free-trade nation, had succeeded her competitor in growth of business, shipping, capital, and in growth of manufactures, the advance of wages falling behind only in taxes and failures in business. You will find this fully set forth in a carefully written article in the *Nineteenth Century Review* for September.

The Bismarck tariff of 1872, which that distinguished protectionist has caused to be enacted for Germany, has curtailed the commerce of the Empire and produced in a few years the most marked decline of the wages of its artisans. Blacksmiths' wages fell from $4.80 a week to $2.92; carpenters', from $7.22 to $4.21; saddlers', from $4.82 to $3.57; and laborers', from $4.37 to $2.60. And all others in like ratio of decline, a clear proof that wages are not increased by *protective* legislation in Australia and Germany, as they have not been increased in our own country. The fact is that protection never has nor never can advance the wages of labor; demand and supply is an inexorable law regulating price in everything, but protection can

and does restrict the demand for labor by circumscribing the market within home demand and hampering the labor by the excessive cost of the raw material which protective tariff practically inflicts on all interests, and becomes oppressive and unjust to the labor and enterprise of a country when the highest duties are placed upon articles of general consumption chiefly consumed by labor. Such legislation is as unfair to that class as it is against the public interest, and tends to impede the national progress as well as impoverish the most useful class of our citizens, by whose labor alone the country thrives.

Now, gentlemen, I think I have fully answered every tangible allegation of Mr. Depew's, and in answering so distinguished an advocate of the protective policy I have met all that can be said in its favor.

It is quite amusing to discuss this subject with a Republican of this character. Their great power consists in the defamation of their opponents and the allegation of bad motives, and when called upon to define and prove their allegations and meet objections to their facts, they draw on their imaginations for their facts, and failing to satisfy their hearers by the limited and defective evidence, even in this way, they supply the deficiency and answer, all damaging proofs to the contrary, by their comprehensive and only reply that their clear and unquestioned facts are but *theories*.

Now, every well-informed man knows that theory is the history of practice, and its value consists in the truth of the statements set forth to justify it.

Therefore, when heavy and unequal taxes are inflicted on labor, and wages are not advanced by a *protective* tariff, which is the true history of Republican legislation during the past quarter of a century, the theory is established by incontrovertible facts that a *protective* tariff is *not* in the interest of labor.

When Lafayette and his suite made their tour through the United States *en route* to Boston, they put up at a Connecticut tavern. The bill for the lodging and entertainment was so unreasonably high as to induce the secretary of our French patriot to ask for the items. Boniface set about this, and after charging the most unreasonable prices for everything supplied failed to make the bill foot up anything like the sum charged. The Frenchman called his attention to this, and asked, modestly, what other item would swell the charges to so high a sum, just

as our overtaxed laborer might inquire as to our large taxation. The tavern-keeper was equal to the occasion, adding to the bottom of his bill, "To making a darned fuss generally."

But, Mr. President, to be serious in closing my address, I have no sympathy with a *revolutionary free-trade* movement. Unwise revenue laws, which may have induced capital and labor into any channel of enterprise or industry, should be modified with such skill and the consideration of *vested interest* as will in time reform the abuse without seriously injuring the interest of the capital and labor involved.

The policy of all legislation should be such an equal distribution of burthens and advantages as the nature of the case will admit as to every citizen and every class of labor. The taxing power is a delicate as well as a burdensome function of government only justified by necessity. Every dollar taken from the citizen under any pretence in excess of the economical expenditures of the government is clearly spoliation. In short, irrespective of theories, a system of taxation cannot be justified which, originated to meet the exigencies of an expensive war, is continued in a time of profound peace, and that, too, when we have the Treasury overflowing with a surplus drawn by excessive taxation from the people, money now peculiarly needed to facilitate the enterprise and employ the labor of the country.

WOMAN AND HER RELATIONS TO SOCIETY.

ADDRESS DELIVERED AT NEW ROCHELLE.

Mr President, Ladies, and Gentlemen,—In addressing you this evening on the interesting and far-reaching inquiry as to "Woman and her Relations to Society," I do not propose a mere eulogy on the sex; nor even to limit my selections for personal illustration to women distinguished for virtue.

I am simply constrained by my subject to the use of such examples of historical character as are afforded by women who have distinguished themselves in society by extraordinary gifts of genius—utilized opportunities—or the freaks of fortune, and this, too, regardless of the relative measure of virtue or of vice marking their career, these conflicting qualities being inseparably compounded with the most elevated as well as the most depraved of actions of either sex.

The fertility of the mind, like the fertility of the soil, nurtures weeds as well as roses. The parable of the Tares, so beautifully related by our Saviour in its application to frail humanity, indicates the practical difficulty of rooting out the noxious weeds without disturbing the wheat. As faith without works is dead, so, in matters of public concern, virtue without effective action is dead also. The course of human affairs is always directed by a variety of mixed motives and a variety of action, of which virtue may be regarded the salt to preserve but not the incentive to develop. And now to my subject.

After God had created the world—the animals and the fishes—and our great ancestor, Adam, to care for them and to cultivate the Garden of Eden, we are informed that "The Lord God said, it is not good that the man should be alone. I will make him a helpmeet for him."

Adam being cast into a deep sleep, awoke to find the lovely Eve gazing on him with the modest, blushing affection of a new-made wife.

In the rapture of a young husband, and endowed with the spirit of prophecy, he gave her the endearing name of Eve, signifying the mother of all living; as her daughters have proved the source of all human happiness and the crowning work of creation. In the words of Burns,—

> "'Prentice han' it tried on man,
> And then it made the lasses, O."

It was wisely said by an old divine, "Woman was not taken from the head of man, that she should command, nor from his feet, that she should be trodden upon, but from his side, nearest his heart, to be forever loved, protected, and cherished." Confirming this noble sentiment, the great reformer, Luther, said, "There is no sweeter pleasure upon earth than to be loved by a woman." This is experience of the manly heart of the deepest thinker of his age, and is an axiom of the heart which can never be disputed. It was Dryden, I think, who enthusiastically remarked, "Her person is a paradise, her soul a cherub to guard it."

It was no churl who said that man clings to woman. His feelings and his wants attach him to her, and with the reciprocity of nature between the sexes, woman—fond, relying woman—leaves the guardianship of her youth and the tender nurturing of her home to go to him who captivates her heart and holds out the hand of welcome and the heart of undivided affection.

Marriage, despite all the small wit or ill-tempered commentaries of unsuccessful suitors, or of disappointed matches, entered into too often from interest rather than for love, is, on the whole, the medium of more unalloyed pleasure, more elevation of character, more cultivation of the best elements of human progress and the suppression of vice and misery, than can be realized in the most Utopian schemes of modern reformers, who seek to unsettle the essentials of the marriage relation by a false theory of woman's rights on the one side, or by a selfish masculine domination on the other. Therefore, in the language of Scripture, "A man shall leave his father and his mother and cleave unto his wife;" and "what God hath joined together let no man put asunder."

The divine impression which nature has, and always will respond to, in the perfect equality of the sexes, yet exercising

different instincts and performing different functions, may be perverted or temporarily suppressed, but it will be found that like all natural laws the equilibrium will be restored, and with this restoration comes harmony, peace, and mutual development.

Polygamy, in derogation of woman's rights, prevailed under the primitive Jewish dispensation. It conformed to an exaggerated idea of the dignity of the father of the family. Yet it cannot be denied that it had the redeeming quality of affording a limited protection to the wife under the patriarchal arm of the husband, whose rule in that primitive age was despotic.

But the higher law of nature asserted itself as cultivation progressed; the language of Adam in reply to the Lord received a new translation. Instead of "The woman thou gavest me," which implied ownership on the part of man, the enlightened spirit of the times produced a better translation: "The woman thou gavest to be with me," implying equality and partnership, and not slavery or vassalage to the husband.

This Christian rendering destroyed the theory and authority of polygamy.

Justice (unlike selfishness) is not a natural impulse, it is the growth of moral education; it required the formulating power of gospel inspiration to enforce the great maxim of Christian ethics.

"Do unto others as you would have them do unto you." A practical application of this divine injunction of our Saviour produced the reform which made marriage not only a divine institution, but a contract of mutual obligation and of imperative duty between the sexes. Sceptical women, therefore, in their impatience under the restraints of the gospel, should never forget that their emancipation originated under the Christian dispensation, and by its mutual sympathies, restraints, and duties in social life, reformed the manners and cultivated the taste of every community accepting its conditions and yielding to its influence.

The graces of piety, the influence of Christian charity, and mutual forbearance became engrafted in the household, spreading to communities, and thus enlarging the area of civilization.

The household influence of the intelligent Christian mother of a family is the hope of civilization. The biography of most great men verifies the value of a mother's early training.

Napoleon once asked Madame Campan how he could improve the youth of France. She replied, "Give them good mothers."

And when Madame de Staël asked Napoleon what woman he considered the greatest, he replied, "The one who has produced and raised the greatest number of intelligent and virtuous children."

When Cornelia, the mother of the Gracchi, was asked to display her jewels, she produced, with maternal pride, her well-bred children.

Woman's relation to society is that of creator. That organism could not progress without her sustaining influence, as it could not have originated without her forming power. She sustains the same relation to social communities as she does to individuals. She nurtures their children, educates their youth, embellishes their manhood, and comforts their old age. We find her in all ages and under every form of civilization guiding the forces which prevail, calming the turbulent, and inciting the indolent in the direction of the best interest of society, humanity, and development.

In glancing over the eventful history of women whose prominence and influence are most striking in relation to society, one is impressed with the uniformity and the permanency of her primitive instincts, and the power with which she exercises them, as over Adam in the Garden of Eden, to gratify her curiosity; her impulse of maternity in the trying ordeal of the judgment of Solomon; her zealous and unquenchable love and piety amidst the horrors of the Crucifixion; when cowardly men deserted our Saviour, she was last at the cross, and first to announce His resurrection.

Her distinguishing successes or failures in elevating or depressing the interests or morals of society preponderate towards good or evil, as her actions have been guided by feminine instincts for good, or by yielding to masculine impulses, which invariably produce evil; and the unnatural exercise of feminine qualities by man are equally pernicious.

Nature seems to revolt at any attempt to overleap or set aside the law of sex, or to tolerate competition between them.

Women, while more particularly conserving the peaceful and moral elevation of society, yet have also developed to the highest degree, at times, the military spirit in defence of sentiment, religious or political, whether in the middle ages, to rescue the

tomb of our Saviour, or in modern times, to settle the political issues involved in our Civil War.

The fact is, the influence of women always leans to brave men. They are the patrons of humanity and also of courage; virtues which the love of sex infuses into the hearts of men where gallantry is distinguished for its knightly bearing.

Tacitus informs us that the women in the wilds of Germany had obtained the most delicate devotion of the hardy and primitive sons of the forest, by which the softer sex became almost deified; strengthened as it was no doubt by a perverted but lovely phase of the early doctrines of Christianity, when maternity became an element of devotion and a woman was worshipped as the mother of God. Yet, such is the versatility of development for and against progress in long periods of time, that in the very section so honorably spoken of by Tacitus it is not unfrequent now to see with disgust women so degraded as to be harnessed with an animal, drawing a cart to market, while, perhaps, her husband is complacently smoking his pipe, riding on the cart quite unconscious of his unmanly position. Yet for all this, the talents and opportunities of women have kept pace mainly with the developments of the times, and, if they had been our historians, we should have fuller and more flattering records of her history and her share in developing the talents of men.

It is humiliating to trace the marriage relation of women to society in the early periods of our race. Degrading as polygamy was, it afforded a measure of protection during the barbarous ages. From the change which followed that state, wives were had by purchase. Abraham bought Rebecca and gave her to his son Isaac. Jacob, being too poor to purchase for money, worked fourteen years for Laban to procure two wives.

David, a man after God's own heart, procured and delivered one hundred foreskins of the Philistines as a consideration for King Saul's daughter.

That the sale of wives prevailed in the early classic ages is shown by Homer's Iliad, in which Agamemnon offers his daughter to Achilles, informing him he might have her without dowry. While Pausanias tells us that Damaus, finding no suitors for his daughters by purchase, at last offered them without dowry.

This phase, however, had changed by the time of Aristotle, who comments on the barbarism of the past in that respect.

While in Rome the bride was obliged to bring a dowry to her

husband, the Assyrians at certain periods collected all the marriageable young women and disposed of them by auction.

There being a popular opinion that wives served their husbands in the other world as well as in this, it became difficult to sell a widow, because of the limited tenure of the second marriage. This prejudice, however, has not reached modern times.

In the mediæval ages a man committing adultery with his neighbor's wife was compelled to pay a fine and to buy the wronged husband another wife.

The ascetic life of the early Christians in the fourth century developed a dark shadow over the popular estimate of human nature by an attempt to eradicate a natural appetite instead of reforming its excess.

The expiring Greek and Roman civilization, which under Pagan excesses had produced a demoralizing habit of a reckless indulgence of illicit pleasure, called for reformation. Chastity, therefore, became the absorbing idea of monkish life, to which every other virtue was to succumb. The saintly life, therefore, was reduced to a perpetual struggle against all associations with women.

Marriage being thus prohibited among this class of converts resulted in an effort to suppress the whole social side of our nature, and the sacrifice of all that was valuable mentally or morally.

Such was the power of fanatical zeal that even the female converts concurred in this war on the affections and against their own sex, many of them disguising themselves as men, resorting to the forests to pass their lives as anchorites.

Among others, Saint Pelagia, a beautiful and seductive actress, thus disguised in male garb, took refuge and lived among the monks of the Mount of Olives, supporting her disguise so well that her sex was not discovered till after her death. But the most terrible of all (says Lecky) were the struggles of young and ardent men, through whose veins the hot blood of passion continually flowed, torn in many cases from the arms of Syrian brides, whose soft eyes answered love with love; even their fanaticism was as unable to alleviate the agonies of their struggle as was the maceration of their bodies and the beating of their breasts in a vain attempt to defy nature.

It is related (says Lecky) that Saint Pachomius and Saint Palemon were conversing together in a desert, when a young monk with his countenance distorted by madness, rushed into

their presence and, with a voice broken and convulsive, poured out his tale of sorrows. A woman, he said, had entered his cell and seduced him. He then broke from them, rushed into a furnace used for heating baths, and perished in the flames.

To guard themselves from the fascinations of the other sex, the monks veiled their faces when women were expected. With many of the hermits it was a rule never to look upon the face of a woman, and the lapse of time in which the rule had been observed was counted to the hermit as marking his advance to holiness.

The extent to which this perversion was carried almost exceeds belief. Mothers, wives, and daughters were not only deserted, but they were refused access to their male delinquents, or, if permitted under great and pressing solicitude, met them blindfolded.

The mother of Saint Marcus persuaded his Abbot to command the saint to meet her. He went with his face disguised and his eyes shut; his mother did not recognize him and he did not see her.

There can be no doubt that this fear of the charms of the sex was genuine, and the effect of this ascetic effort to mortify the affection was most pernicious in relation to the Christian virtues generally, because tending to eradicate natural sympathy and love, the basis of every manly virtue. Natural impulses are abstractly neither right nor wrong. Their moral or intellectual qualities depend on the bent or distinguishing use of them; they are not to be suppressed, but so modified as to accomplish the higher motives of human action. In modern times the woman-hater is always characterized as worthless and selfish, and his life for want of an object to love is cheerless and void of useful purpose.

About this very time Mahomet was propagating a religion, promising the faithful a happy association in his heaven with beautiful and fascinating women. Myriads of gallant Mussulmans sacrificed their lives on the fields of battle in propagating a religion which conformed to the instincts of the soldier; and one hundred millions of their descendants are to-day faithful to the delightful illusion. These two opposite fanatical errors teach this lesson, at least, that the monkish war on women came to naught, because contrary to the instincts of nature; while the promise of Mahomet, being agreeable to the highest impulse

of man, is permanent in his hopes even if not clearly recognized in his religion.

It will, therefore, appear to be easier to propagate an erroneous doctrine, coupled with a recognition of woman, than to enforce a truth without her. She can never be successfully ignored in any stage of human action. Her influence and reputation have broken through the darkest historical periods. Prominent men educated by enlightened mothers have responded to their claims for recognition. Cornelia educated the Gracchi; Attia educated Augustus Cæsar, who ruled the world. These like other distinguished classic matrons have come down to us as examples of maternal duty, and, therefore, of influence over public men and society, at a time, too, when patriotism was the ruling passion of that cultivated people.

Plutarch informs us that the Lacedæmonians having behaved in a cowardly manner in one of their battles, the married men were so ashamed of themselves that they durst not look their wives in the face. And on another occasion we are informed that Spartan matrons flocked to the temples to thank the gods that their husbands had died gloriously fighting for their country. Examples like these, of female patriotism, are not confined to classic times. They light up the darkest ages, and are not eclipsed by the brightest periods of modern history. If Brutus's patriotism is to be commended for slaying Julius Cæsar, to restore the liberties of Rome, has not female patriotism the record of Judith for slaying Holofernes to save her people from extermination; Charlotte Corday, in ridding France of that bloody tyrant and demagogue, Marat; and is not Joan of Arc, the pious maid of Orleans, a fair companion for William of Orange?

While woman has maintained her relative place in patriotic sacrifices, she has also fulfilled her peculiar function as an educator and an example for good. She is foremost in all that pertains to the amelioration of human suffering, and zealous in preserving human life and its comforts. In this connection, how readily the name of that noble woman, Florence Nightingale, comes to us as the sympathizing, painstaking nurse of the English soldier, an example so patriotically followed by our own women on both sides of the late Civil War. And how readily the name of Grace Darling comes to us as the rescuing angel of shipwrecked seamen, an act which will long challenge the best

impulse of humanity and the sternest demand of chivalrous bravery.

If woman has risen with the progress of civilization, it but returns to her that which she had conferred on it. Her piety, delicate sentiments, gentleness of manners, and winning behavior captivate and refine the coarsest of men and ameliorate the coarsest of habits, which tell on the age and the community where she is most appreciated. In our own country these qualities have found a ready response among men of all classes, and hence in no other country are the beauties and influence of female character so well developed and so fully compensated by a devotion of men little short of knight errantry. This is the acknowledged heritage of the American woman, which I hope she will always merit and enjoy.

It is said that great minds but react on the society which has made them great; but woman, it seems to me, has created society itself. Campbell has well said in this connection,—

> "The world was sad, the garden was a wild,
> And man the hermit sighed, till woman smiled."

Progress, as well as its great factor, invention, comes mainly from the impulse of curiosity, the great incentive and avenue to knowledge. This is peculiarly a female quality, exemplified when Eve was induced to eat the prohibited apple by the serpent who excited her curiosity for the knowledge of good and evil. Reckless of consequences, she was willing to obtain knowledge even at the expense of suffering evil, and even banishment from Eden.

The apple, therefore, may be regarded as the symbol of curiosity and the key to knowledge.

This desire for knowledge in woman, classed as curiosity, has furnished a fruitful theme of literary and dramatic illustration from remote classic lore to modern dramatists.

Cassandra, serving in the temple of Apollo, became desirous of acquiring the prophetic art. Apollo, enamoured of her beauty, endowed her with the desired knowledge. But she, refusing to concede the coveted reward, the disappointed god annexed to the gift he could not recall the curse that no one would believe her.

It is to be regretted that Apollo's attempt to limit the powers

of Cassandra has not extended to modern times, so that scandal would not find believers.

Curiosity, however, is the parent of discovery. Sir Isaac Newton's wonderful discovery of the laws of gravitation, from which the great mysteries of astronomy have been solved, originated by the fall of an apple, which aroused the curiosity of the great scientist and mathematician as to the law governing the phenomenon.

That powerful agent steam, which nearly governs the world and performs a large share of its labor, originated from the curiosity of Watt to solve the mystery of the steam-power of a tea-kettle.

While our fair sisters have at times abused this faculty in social matters, yet in the other sphere of inquiry it has led to all the useful discoveries and inventions which distinguish our wonderful advance in the comfort and convenience of modern improvement.

But curiosity, like all human impulses, has its limits. An optimist lady once said to her husband, "My dear, you must not look for what you do not wish to find." A wise precept, by which her husband profited in observing, no doubt.

The example of Eve, however, is too often followed by her daughters, in which the knowledge obtained is quite as fatal to the Eden of her domestic life.

That suspicion which often accompanies curiosity is fatal to the most tender relations of married life as applied to either sex. The handkerchief which figures so disastrously and so unjustly against the virtue of Desdemona in the play of "Othello" is an example by which the Iagos of both sexes in society have been able to destroy the peace, and sometimes the virtue, of many a happy family. A generous fidelity will not long brook suspicion, and the records of social life are full of cases where virtue has succumbed under the pressure of unjust suspicion and the natural resentment which it originates.

It may interest you if I recall to your recollection a few examples of female prominence in the affairs of the world, in which their capacity and influence, exercised both for good and evil, have shaped the ends and controlled the destinies of nations by their beauty, seductive arts, and their ambition, as well as elevated the civilization by their virtues.

Columbus failed in his most persistent efforts for years to

interest the male rulers of Europe in his proposed discovery of a new world, and we are indebted to the enterprising spirit of Queen Isabella of Spain for the necessary sympathy and support which enabled that hardy and enterprising navigator to accomplish a discovery which has not only changed the face of the globe, so to speak, but has been the means of reforming the politics and governments of the world.

To the curiosity and enterprise of one woman, therefore, we are directly indebted for the greatest event in the history of the world, and indirectly flowing from that discovery the free institutions which this continent has originated and spread for the elevation of humanity.

The aptitude of women for acquiring knowledge, and the power which belongs to it, attracted the jealousy of ignorant men in the dark ages when fanaticism was the ruling element in Europe. For a period of nearly three centuries fanatics brooded over the story of the devil's influence over Eve in the Garden of Eden, and fell at last into the idea that the evil spirit had taken up his quarters in the bodies of certain ill-favored women whom they called witches, to whom was ascribed every calamity which befell individuals or communities.

Thousands, perhaps millions, of unhappy persons fell victims, directly and indirectly, to this absurd delusion in France, Italy, Germany, England, and Scotland, descending even down to the early colonists of our own country.

The popular notion of the devil was that he was a large, ill-formed, hairy spirit, with horns, a long tail, cloven foot, and dragon's wings, and that he had a reciprocal affection for old and deformed women. Unlike the monks already described, who feared to look upon the young and handsome women, fearing seduction, the devil, more gallant, met the old and ugly face to face, to seduce them by conferring on them extraordinary powers for mischief. In France and England the witches were supposed to ride uniformly on broomsticks. In Italy and Spain the devil himself, in the shape of a goat, used to transport witches on his back, which lengthened or shortened, according to the number he wished to accommodate.

It would consume to much of your time to give you a tithe of the preposterous belief and incidental lore which comes down to us on this subject. In the vicinity of the lake of Como, now redolent of romance and an atmosphere of love, where young

married couples delight to pass their honeymoon, one thousand females were sacrificed, in the year 1524, to this delusion.

Every town in Europe had its place to burn witches, where they were executed without mercy. The suspected women were thrown into the river; if they were drowned they were deemed innocent, if they did not sink they were burned as witches. Our own Puritan fathers brought this belief in witches with them from Europe. In Salem nineteen women were burned, or pressed to death under convictions of this kind, in one year, by the arrests and advice of such men as Cotton Mather.

Now, this persecution originated in fanaticism, and not from antagonism to woman. Yet it shows how unequal the struggle, when the stronger is arrayed against the weaker sex. Such wholesale murder could not have obtained against men, with or without the devil.

Another curious phase of masculine domination, of a still more remote age, is worthy of notice in this connection.

You will read in the fifth chapter and the thirtieth verse of Numbers, that when the spirit of jealousy cometh over man, and he be jealous of his wife, he shall set the woman before the Lord, and the priest shall execute upon her all this law. Now, this law of jealousy, as it is called in the Mosaic dispensation of the Old Testament, is the origin of trial by ordeal, so much practised in the middle ages for the discovery of hidden crime.

It appears by scriptural record that when a husband doubted the fidelity of his wife he brought her before the priest, who wrote certain fearful imprecations against the crime on tablets with a kind of ink easily detached, to be scraped off and mixed with a bitter decoction, to be drunk by the accused after the priest had used a certain denunciatory formula, to which the accused was to respond with the word Amen, or so be it, which, by-the-bye, is the first time this word is recorded, although now in use as the response to every prayer.

If she be guilty of the charge, the decoction containing the elements of the written curse becomes a deadly poison, producing all the agony and physical corruption which the curse denounced against the culprit; but in case of innocence, the decoction is not only harmless, but she is made more healthy and fruitful. If her husband has been guilty himself with another woman, then the Water of Jealousy, as it is called, has

no bad effect, even in a criminal wife, it being held that the transgression on one part was in a legal sense balanced by the transgression of the other, a wise and just rule which obtains in modern issues of divorce cases.

A rigid test of this feature of the ordeal enforced against the accuser soon brought the jealousy ordeal into disrepute with husbands, because it was found so difficult to procure a conviction of wives, and the scandal so frequently fell to the door of the husband.

The learned biblical commentator, Dr. Adam Clark, is of opinion that this jealousy ordeal is the origin of judicial trial by ordeal of fire and battle so long practised in the middle ages, modified from time to time, till it reaches us in the modern duel, a barbarous practice not justified under modern civilization, yet has done much to prevent scandal and outrage which the law cannot reach, to punish a class of men whose fear of personal danger curbs their love of gossip and of reckless defamation.

Man, by his physical superiority, is the natural protector of woman, and woman, conscious of this, and moved by the affection which belongs to sex, concedes government also.

The tastes and habits of each respectively are adapted to their relations of government on one side and the reciprocal duty of care and affection on the other.

Women have more imagination and sensibility than men. Yet they have never attained the highest walks in literature, poetry, or the fine arts. Nature seems to have avoided rivalship between the sexes, by endowing them with different talents.

In matters of the heart, taste, grace, sensibility, insinuating manners, and an unfailing instinct of discrimination between right and wrong, in good taste, in propriety against vulgarity, in all these, women are far the superiors of men.

When men affect feminine graces at the expense of the masculine instinct of manhood, they simply render themselves ridiculous; and when women attempt the masculine *rôle,* forgetting the native modesty of their sex, they simply induce a species of disgust in those who value their sex.

The exact line of demarcation cannot be defined, as to where and when these distinctive powers overreach their respective domain, but the common sense of men and women rarely fails in establishing a practical line of social or individual propriety.

The power of imitation and a facility in adaptation in women of exceptional ability have often counterfeited men without detection, but no man was ever able successfully to counterfeit a woman.

This readiness in women to grasp a situation with an instinct rarely at fault has often produced wonderful combinations of talent and judgment, enabling them to overleap the barriers of their sex, but in every such success there is a corresponding sacrifice of those lovable and refining feminine qualities which captivate our hearts and elevate our morals.

Queen Elizabeth, and the present admirable sovereign, Victoria, of Great Britain, whose reigns have been the most brilliant and the most successful of any administration which that great empire ever enjoyed in its centuries of existence, may be adduced in this connection. Yet they are rare exceptions, like that of the two Catherines of Russia, and perhaps favoring circumstances happily surrounded the periods which justify the successes.

Despite all these exceptions, the true and permanent empire of woman is social, the centre powre of which is the family; its greatest perfection is reached where husband and wife govern reciprocally.

It was wisely said by Rousseau, "The best domestic economy is that where the wife has most authority, but when she is insensible to the voice of her husband, when she tries to usurp his prerogative, and to command alone, what can result from such disorder but scandal and dishonor?"

The woman is to be pitied who marries a man she cannot look up to, and repose with confidence in his affection and his judgment, but she undervalues and disgraces herself when she shows any want of respect for him. The man is simply a brute who does not honor his wife above all women.

The Empress Livia, being asked by a married lady how she obtained such ascendency over her wayward husband, Augustus Cæsar, replied, "By being obedient to his commands, by not wishing to know his secrets, and by hiding my knowledge of his amours." This woman was as virtuous as her husband was socially wicked; and while she winked at a depravity common to Roman society at that time,—so painful to a virtuous wife,—yet her policy would in modern times prevent many a rupture, and suppress, if not reform, many a cause of scandal.

I think it was Byron who remarked that love was man's pastime, but woman's whole existence. However human love originates, it must be maintained by the unremitting application of the same captivating endearments which induced it. We are taught by inspiration that we must love God, because he first loved us, gratitude being a chief element in that pious duty. Between the sexes, however, the element of gratitude is not so permanent in love; it is less ethereal and also less prominent, and requires, like all earthly flames, to be constantly replenished with fuel on the altar of even the most ardent idolatry.

The most commonplace and realistic of husbands and wives feel the vivifying influence of a repetition of the same endearments with which courtship fascinated them, modified, of course, by the soberness of age, but with no decadence of tenderness. Many a loving heart has been starved by a careless disregard of this tender obligation; driven for sympathy outside of the proper home of their hearts, husbands and wives may find causes of estrangement which at times culminate in danger to the peace and happiness of both.

It is not proposed to consume your time by citations of the many prominent examples of distinguished women who have illustrated in the course of time the talents and the virtues of the sex, but only to recall to your memory a few of the more prominent who stand out because of their influence on society.

And first let me remind you of Aspasia, one of the most accomplished and lovely women that have come down to us from the classic times of the most refined period of Athenian society. She combined charms of person, manners, and conversation, and a mind enriched by every requirement of knowledge, while the impulses of her heart were as pure as her person was lovely. She enjoyed the friendship and admiration of the statesmen, poets, sculptors, and philosophers of that highly cultivated period; her intimate friends were Pericles, the accomplished ruler and classic adorner of Athens, to whom she was afterwards married, after first educating him in philosophy and oratory; and she has the credit of being his confidential adviser in all matters of state. Indeed, Plato informs us that Socrates derived no small share of his own reputation from the same female school. Anaxagoras, Zeno, Protagoras, and Phidias, the great sculptor, were constant visitors at her house. With all these advantages of position and the undisputed exercise of

social influence and political power, not a single incident has come down to us against her fair fame or her good judgment.

She appears to have been a paragon of discretion as well as of cultivation and beauty. It is true that, rising above paganism, she was accused and tried for scepticism, a want of reverence for the heathen gods. Many ill-informed persons of modern times couple her name with the fascinating fast women who flourished as courtesans in Athens at that time. By a cruel law in Athens the children of all foreign women were regarded as illegitimate, even the offspring of lawful marriage. Now, Aspasia, being foreign born, came under this hard condition, although her children were born in wedlock.

In honor of her fair fame, beauty, and accomplishments, almost without parallel, the name Aspasia now signifies the loveliest of women, as that of Alexander implies the greatest of military heroes.

As if to demonstrate the educational instinct and capacity of women in fashioning the crudest material of our sex, she married Lysicles, a cattle drover, after the death of Pericles, whom she succeeded in educating and fitting for a subsequent career among the prominent statesmen of Athens.

She enjoyed the rare quality of being able to command the highest consideration of men, without in the least encountering the jealousy of women. Athenian matrons, with their husbands, flocked to her social gatherings, notwithstanding a bold neglect of established usage, giving way to a conversation of the highest and most instructive character in philosophy, literature, art, and statesmanship,—an intellectual school hitherto denied to women.

It is to be regretted that we have no modern Aspasia who could set aside our fashionable usage of assemblies, which meet for the cultivation of the heels rather than the head, to practise the graces and figures of the "Lanciers" rather than the cultivation of a taste for literature and art.

It is the want of higher and more educational amusements and employments of society, where the sexes could enjoy the company of each other without the burthens of expensive entertainments, which few can afford, that has produced a restless yearning on the part of many intellectual women for masculine privileges and enjoyments. Whereas, the real and higher place of women is to be found in the social circle, co-operating with men in intellectual pursuits, leading by their fascination and

refinement the masculine element to a higher civilization, where the dual characteristics of the sexes can act in conservative harmony with nature, accomplishing the improvement of both.

Cleopatra may be adduced as representing the cultivated and voluptuous character of women, where beauty, fascination, and the unscrupulous use of them is capable, as in her successes, of seducing men of the strongest will, the coldest feelings, and the highest attainments.

There is force in the Catholic legend, that after the devil had failed to draw the pious Saint Anthony away from the contemplation of the Scriptures by menacing him with every kind of venomous and disgusting reptile, he was at last successfully conquered by the introduction of a beautiful woman, who lovingly placed her soft velvety cheeks against his old wrinkled jaws. The Saint, feeling the seductive overture, we are told, laid the Bible aside.

Cleopatra, an Egyptian princess, who, sharing the throne with her brother while quite young and under guardianship, was deprived of her share in the government.

Cæsar, coming to Alexandria, was at once captivated by her youthful charms, espoused her cause, and had her restored to reign with her brother, Ptolemy, of but eleven years of age, as her husband and colleague, it being quite the usage in Egypt for that relation to exist, regardless of consanguinity. She became the mistress of Cæsar, who erected a statue next to that of Venus in her honor, when she visited Rome. After her return from Rome she poisoned her young husband, and became sole possessor of the regal power of Egypt.

During the civil wars in Rome she espoused the interests of her lover, and after the battle of Philippi she joined him at Tarsus, being then but twenty-five years of age. She then combined extraordinary beauty, wit, and the most fascinating and cultivated manners.

She appeared in a magnificently decorated ship, under a golden canopy, arrayed as Venus, surrounded by beautiful boys and girls, representing cupids and graces.

Her meeting with Antony was attended by the most splendid festivals of that voluptuous time. Antony was captured, and that brave soldier and influential statesman became a mere follower of extravagant masculine pleasures and feminine frivolities, which culminated in the disastrous naval battle of Actium,

in which Cleopatra, with her sixty ships, deserted him in his hour of defeat.

Octavius succeeded to the dictatorship of Rome. Antony, in a fit of despair, committed suicide, dying in the arms of Cleopatra, whom he forgave, because she was the mother of his three children.

Shortly after, failing to placate the conqueror by her fascinating power, and desiring to avoid the humiliation of being led captive to grace a Roman triumph, she applied the asp to her arm, and died on a bed of state carefully adorned for the occasion. She had not yet reached forty, and had reigned twenty-two years, during which time her influence over those that then ruled the world was exercised for the most depraved purposes of female power and passion. Even her death had a theatrical feature. Having ordered a splendid feast to be prepared, she desired her attendants to leave her. And she laid herself calmly down and died, arrayed in her rich queenly robes; so that Octavius, when calling on her, found himself powerless to humiliate her.

Octavius, not to be disappointed, was unmanly enough to have an effigy of her moulded, with a serpent on the arm, to personate her, and had it carried in the procession. A contemptible act, which even his subsequent generosity to his male enemies has been unable to wipe out.

Cleopatra was the last of the race of the Ptolemies, who had reigned in Egypt over three hundred years.

She was accomplished in no ordinary degree, being proficient in music, mistress of all the languages cultivated in her age, including Greek and Latin. She could, we are told, converse with Ethiopians, Jews, Arabians, Syrians, Medes, and Persians, without an interpreter.

Her glaring faults and frailties, resulting measurably from the absurd and depraved usages of the Græco-Egyptian religion and manners, the striking career of this princess must always form a beacon of danger against voluptuous love in rulers, when unchecked by a firm and virtuous public sentiment.

The elements of human greatness or power are never concentrated in any one person. They are aggregated in communities from a mixed variety of personal character, in which virtue and vice, greatness and weakness, are so compounded as to make individual perfection impossible.

Cleopatra, with the strength of learning, beauty, and fascination, coupled the weakness of unchastity and unscrupulous ambition. While this must modify, it should not extinguish the real merit of her rare accomplishments as a woman, while we hold up as specimens of masculine greatness the lives of Alexander the Great, Augustus Cæsar, and Napoleon Bonaparte, tarnished as they are with the same weaknesses and vice.

Catherine de' Medici furnishes the most hateful character on historical record, being devoid of a single moral quality, yet endowed with rare genius and the advantages of the highest cultivation with which to exercise despotic power.

She was born in Florence in 1519, the only daughter of the rich, powerful, and celebrated Duke of Urbino, of the same name, and the niece of Pope Clement VII.

She was equally gifted with beauty and talents, and had cultivated her taste for the fine arts in her native city. But she had also cultivated the most vicious of the corrupt school of politics then prevailing, which justified a constant resort to cabal, intrigue, and treachery, to which she added an unbounded ambition and a wonderful art of dissimulation and flattery. She combined with an inventive spirit every possible grace and every insinuating art to accomplish the purposes of the utmost human depravity. She was equally artful in uniting her adherents as in promoting dissensions among her adversaries. She even depraved her children, partly to enervate them by dissipation to keep her power in old age, and partly towards prodigality. And, in the midst of these extravagances she initiated the cruel and bloody measures which recall to us the fearful massacre of the Huguenots, which she inspired and planned. It was these persecutions, sustained by the fanaticism which she fostered, which drove from France its best population, and gave to our own country many of our most distinguished men, New Rochelle being proud of its share of the moral, intelligent, and industrious emigration.

This woman will forever live in history as the most distinguished of either sex for a combination of mental power, physical beauty, fascinating manners, with the accomplishment of more evil and corruption in society, and the bloodshed of more innocent individuals, than the most depraved periods of history have ever afforded. Yet there are redeeming qualities in the most depraved. Paris is indebted to her for the palace of the

Tuileries and the Hôtel de Soissons, and its literary men for the rarest collection of books and classic manuscripts in any country, as well as for the introduction of the Renaissance, or grand specimens of restored classic architecture, and also a great advance in art generally.

We cannot contemplate the life of this wonderful woman without feeling the power of female genius for good or ill, and how little education can accomplish towards reforming (even in women) a bad heart, when perverted by the masculine impulse of political ambition.

The Duchess of Montpensier—called La Grande Mademoiselle —was the granddaughter of the great Henry IV. She inherited from her father, the Duke of Orleans, her eccentric, impetuous, and vindictive temper. She led the rebellion called the Fronde against the government of France, which the people of the time denominated the Woman's War, actually buckling on the armor of the soldier. Accompanied by two female aides-de-camp, she led the forces in person, and boldly fired on the troops of her brother, the king, Louis XIV., although in the ranks was her lover, whom she was disposed to marry. Such is the bitterness of civil war, when it can subdue the affections of a woman.

When her father complimented her on entering Orleans in triumph, he addressed his letter to "the military aides of her female staff, 'the countesses,' adjutant-generals in the army of my daughter." She held councils of war only with her female staff, and it is told of her how often she blended business with pleasure, evincing the ruling passion of the sex by stopping to examine some ribbons and lace at a shop on her way to arrest a serious riot and massacre at the Hôtel de Ville.

When it was hinted to her on one occasion that her rebellion against her own family, and its royal rule, savored of republicanism, she replied that the intentions of the great are like the mysteries of the faith: it does not belong to mankind to penetrate within them. Men ought to revere them, and to believe that they are for the welfare and salvation of the country. Her brother, the king, did not concur in this platitude, but exiled her for many years to expiate her rebellion. She afterwards returned to court, married secretly the man she had fired at during the rebellion, and died unhappily from the unrequited love and the brutal treatment of a husband who had married her for her money and the position she occupied at court.

We come now to Madame Maintenon, who ruled France and virtually Europe for thirty years, at a time when society was undergoing a revolution and recovering somewhat from the baneful influence of the corruptions which the lascivious lives of the last three monarchs had engrafted on society. She was born in 1635. Her father, a Protestant, was incarcerated in the Bastille under the religious persecutions of the times. She married a poor poet named Scarron, both deformed and infirm, but who generously married her to give her a home after the death of her father, which left her without support. The marriage was a happy one, and she by her social qualities and her modesty conciliated the general esteem and affection. The death of her husband, however, left her again destitute till Madame Montespan, the favorite mistress of Louis XIV., induced him to employ her as a governess of their illegitimate son, the Duke de Main, resulting in the king's change of affection from the passionate Montespan to the placid governess. Louis had reached the period in life in which men want a companion rather than a mistress, to alleviate the anxieties of public life by the calmer pleasures of domestic life. Louis XIV. is not the only man who reforms when the capacity for sinning is in decadence. The gallantries of the king gave place to intense religious devotion, and at the suggestion of Pére La Chaise, his confessor, he made the pious Maintenon his wife by a formal but secret marriage, she having reached the age of fifty, somewhat the senior of the king. There is something melancholy in the reflection that the attainment of one's ambition is so often followed by disappointment.

This favorite of fortune, having reached the highest honor in the most distinguished court in the world, having attained the elevation, too, by a strictly virtuous course in direct opposition to the habits of court life, found herself disappointed. She informs us: "I was born ambitious. I resisted the inclination when the wish I no longer indulged was fulfilled. I thought myself happy, but this intoxication lasted only three weeks."

The king not only deferred to her, but in her quiet way she influenced his public measures. He held his councils of state in her private parlor, and visited her several times a day for consultation and support. Yet amidst all this she is constrained to remark to Lady Bolingbroke, her niece, "What a martyrdom

to be compelled to amuse a man who is incapable of being amused." Many a modern wife, especially those young brides of rich old men, can endorse this matrimonial wail against tiresome old husbands whose resources of mental power were exhausted when they retired from money-making. She declined to use her influence, even for the pecuniary benefit of her family, and lived modestly on her original salary as governess. Her benevolence and foresight for the good of her people extended to every practical measure of relief. To her love for the elevation of her sex we are indebted for the first public educational provision for females, having founded for that purpose the school at St. Cyr for the education of poor girls. Her published letters are classics and her fame worthy of the highest model of female virtue and discretion. The influence is yet felt in the best society in France.

The seventeenth century was fruitful of accomplished women, especially in France, when they exercised direct political influence, which has passed away, but the refining influence in society is perennial, because there it is legitimate. In England, with perhaps the exception of the Duchess of Marlborough, and a few of less note or power in the reigns of Charles and James, female influence has only been exercised socially, but far more effectively, more beneficently, and more permanently, for the good of society and the respectability of the government. With few unimportant exceptions the prominent and cultivated women of our own country concur in the example.

In the next reign the court and society of France fell under the influence of the celebrated Marchioness de Pompadour, the court beauty and mistress of Louis XV., in whose affections she succeeded Madame de Chateauroux. She was the daughter of a kept mistress of a rich farmer, and had received a careful education.

Gifted by nature with a good heart and endowed with a good understanding, Voltaire, who was her confidential friend and favorite, tells us that she declared to him that "she always had a secret presentiment that she should be loved by the king," and felt a violent inclination in his favor.

After her marriage with M. d'Étoiles, she attracted the king's attention while riding out in a fancy vehicle. The king first sent her game, and in due time she engrossed his whole attention—influencing his public measures, and even inducing him

to command his army in person, at a safe distance, however, from the artillery of the enemy. She became the patroness of learning and art, which she cultivated with success, collecting a museum of rare antiquities, books, and pictures of the greatest value. She founded the first military school in France. Her charms of person in time failing to interest the king, she turned her attention to affairs of state. Here comes the bane of female ambition. She plunged France into a seven years' bloody and expensive war with Prussia, which depleted the national resources and decimated the population. She filled the offices with corrupt fanatics, which produced the evils that led to the reign of terror under Louis XVI., in which Louis XVI., his queen, and thousands of innocent men and women perished on the scaffold, to expiate the bad government of one weak woman governing weaker and more corrupt men. She died at the early age of forty-four, having ruled France so openly that the Empress Maria Teresa had to propitiate her favor, and that of France, by writing with her own hand a complimentary letter to her.

Catherine I. of Russia may be classed among the wonders of social life, furnishing incidents in the career of a female beyond the wildest fiction. She was the daughter of a peasant in Lithuania, named Samuel, for he had no family name, as is frequently the case with his class in Russia.

She was originally placed by her parents in the service of a Lutheran clergyman, and subsequently married, at the age of fourteen years, to a Swedish dragoon, who was killed in battle eight days after.

Martha, for that was originally her name, then fell into the hands of a Russian general. Smitten with her beauty, he in turn relinquished her to Prince Menzekoff. While in his possession she was seen by Peter the Great, who first made her his mistress and then his empress, having yet but reached the tender age of seventeen, and as such crowned her with his own hand at Moscow. She bore him seven children, five of whom died young, the others succeeded to the empire. She soon gained the heart of all her surroundings, as well as the confidence of Peter, by the most unwearied assiduity, softness, and complacency, as well as by her tact and judgment in negotiation and administrative ability; but on one occasion Peter, finding her in a compromising position with her chamberlain, beheaded her

paramour in her presence, and had his head nailed to a gibbet, where she was compelled to see the ghastly warning daily.

The emperor's temper, becoming violent, had estranged the courtiers, who gravitated to the empress, inducing the suspicion that his violent death was with her complicity, she becoming by his assassination the sole ruler of the empire. As is generally the case under female domination in political affairs, she ruled with despotic power, in connection with corrupt favorites who oppressed the people and nearly drove them back to that barbarism from which Peter the Great had raised them. Her death was hastened, it is said, by excess in the use of Tokay wine and ardent spirits, and she was succeeded by her first illegitimate daughter by the emperor before marriage. Time does not admit of a reference to her singular reign, many incidents of which are as strange as her own life in connection with society.

About this time appeared in society a singular individual, who flourished in the army and in the politics of both England and France, but whose sex is yet in controversy, the more so because endowed with qualifications singularly available to personate either, and combining the advantages of birth and an education of the highest order, to develop a genius rarely surpassed by individuals of either sex.

First appearing in the garb of a man as Chevalier d'Éon, said to be born in Burgundy, of a respectable family, but believed by many, and treated as such, to be a natural daughter of Louis XV., enjoying a pension and called on the books of the French pension office Mademoiselle d'Éon. Admitted to be the most accomplished scholar of the time in Europe, and filled with credit the professions of author,—in which she treated politics, finance, and *belles-lettres* with great ability,—and with singular credit performed the duties of a military officer and diplomatic ambassador as the representative of the government in foreign countries; and also with these discharging the duties of parliamentary advocate and royal censor at home.

After the death of Louis XV., d'Éon went to England to live, where suspicion arose as to his sex,—for up to this period he had passed as a man,—giving rise to a curious trial originated before Lord Mansfield to determine an issue under a bet of fifteen guineas against one hundred that the chevalier was a woman. It was proved from the records above referred to that

she was so treated by the court of France in conferring the pension, although it was not made public. After this decision d'Éon put on female clothes and continued to wear them till death.

This strange adaptability is certainly without precedent, and is utterly beyond the capacity of one of my sex under any circumstances whatever, but its authenticity is beyond question.

When reduced in fortune by the death of her father she resorted to giving lessons in sword exercise, then so important to gentlemen of fashion for self-defence, and teaching also other branches of male accomplishments to large numbers of the most distinguished Englishmen.

It may be well to remind you of a few of the many distinguished women who have tended to reform and have illustrated society by their efforts and genius in literature, art, and the drama.

And first let me give you an idea of a fashionable woman in London, in the language of a dialogue in one of the old English plays (not much exaggerated) of the seventeenth century, about the same time our own colonists were fighting the French and Indians on this continent:

"Pray how do you pass the time, madame?"

"Like a woman of quality. I wake about two o'clock in the afternoon. I stretch and make a sign for my chocolate. When I have drunk three cups I slide down again on my back with my arm over my head, while my two maids put on my stockings. Then hanging upon their shoulders I am trailed to my great chair, where I sit down and yawn for my breakfast. If it don't come presently I lie down upon my couch to say my prayers, while my maid reads me the play bills.

"When tea is brought in I drink twelve regular dishes with slices of bread and butter; and half an hour after I send to the cook to know if dinner is almost ready. By that time my head is half dressed. I hear my husband swearing himself into a state of perdition that the meats are all cold upon the table, to amend which I come down in an hour, and have it sent back to the kitchen to be all dressed over again.

"When I have dined and my idle servants are presumptuously set down at their ease to do so too, I call for my coach to go to visit fifty dear friends, of whom I hope I shall never find one at home. I pass the evening like a woman of spirit. Give me

a box of dice, sevens the main, sir. I set you a hundred pounds. Why, do you think women are married nowadays to sit at home and mend napkins?"

This is a true description, expressed in the cant of the day, of a class of frivolous women which has been purged of a good deal of grossness, peculiar to the times, gambling in cards being replaced by operations in Wall Street. Habits of society and fashionable aspirations change in form and manner, but in all ages when wealth develops into vulgar display and is appreciated over modest talent, good taste and judicious economy will be sacrificed. Yet at that very time there existed another class, as there is now among us, worthy of the mission of the sex, who by precept and example reform and refine society, even when measurably conforming to the fashion of the day, fashion being a power which no one can absolutely ignore.

A class originated about that time in London, composed chiefly of cultivated women, who formed what was called the Blue Stocking Club, not unlike the Sorosis of New York, composed of intelligent women who circulated around the novelist Richardson, the great social luminary of the day. He had written "Pamela," and that kind of rather stilted light literature, of the exquisite love-making order, yet having a reforming tendency over the coarse taste and doubtful social morals then prevailing, which writers like Addison and Steele so happily satirized in the "Spectator."

Clandestine marriages were then as common as divorces are now, and the journals of that day displayed advertisements of tempting facilities to engage in the inspiring enterprise, just as our modern journals are availed of in matters of divorce. An extract from a newspaper of that century will interest you.

"By authority marriages performed with the utmost privacy, secrecy, and regularity at the ancient Chapel of Saint John the Baptist in the Savoy, where regular authoritative registers have been kept from the time of the Reformation. There are five private ways by land to the chapel, and two by water. The expense not more than one guinea, the five shilling stamp included."

Certainly five dollars for the fun of stealing a wife so legally was not excessive, considering the five entrances by land and two by water to facilitate the entrance into matrimony.

See how tastes have changed: in modern times facilities are now in demand for divorces, and I here give you a characteristic advertisement from last week's *Herald,* tending to recall the old maxim, "Marry in haste to repent at leisure." "Absolute divorces for every legal cause known without public scandal—legal everywhere. Over twenty-five years' practice in the New York Courts. Only reliable licensed counsellor in the Supreme Court of the United States. No money wanted till divorce is granted." I suppose had one applied to the accommodating counsellor-at-law he would have opened as many doors by water and by land to get out of matrimony as the rector of the Savoy church did to get in, including the gratuitous stamp.

To return. Perhaps among the first to be named of this literary class should be Lady Mary Montague Wortley, the early friend and correspondent of the poet Pope. We are indebted to her for the introduction of inoculation as a protection against that fearful scourge the small-pox. This accomplished woman led the social circle of that cultivated period as the chief figure. Her letters and literary productions are familiar to all readers.

Mrs. Carter, who translated Epictetus, and Mrs. Chapone, whose good advice contained in her admirable letters to young ladies have become classic, and whose work on the improvement of the mind, published over a hundred years ago, is still quoted as authority. Its practical good sense comes down to us and is applicable to modern habits. A short extract will interest our housekeepers.

"Those ladies who pique themselves on their particular excellence of neatness and style are very apt to forget that decent order of the house should be designed to promote the convenience and pleasure of those who are to be in it, and that if it is to be converted into a cause of trouble and constraint, their husbands' guests would be happier without it."

How this lady could have extended this caution had she anticipated the overcrowded furniture and bric-à-brac which confronts one on entering the long narrow suites of parlors in a modern Fifth Avenue palace, often presenting the appearance of a shop for the display of furniture rather than a room to live in, leaving so little space to enter and depart that one's limbs are in danger among the multitude of Chinese, Japanese, and classic vases, and other articles of no visible use, composed of ebony and ormolu fabrications, while china plaques with

crude paintings of modern art, very ugly crockery of antique pretensions, are made to vie with the paintings on the walls because they are said to be scarce and expensive, much like the craze in buildings in the same locality for the Queen Anne style, fashionable because stylishly inconvenient, and too often a parvenu's only tribute to antiquity!

In our own country, as I have already remarked, our women have rarely attempted in any public manner to influence society except through her social influence at home. Mrs. Harriet Beecher Stowe, however, has, perhaps, exercised the greatest political influence of any female writer of modern times in that wonderful work of the imagination, "Uncle Tom's Cabin," which has been reproduced in every language, having the largest circulation of any book of modern times, exercised the greatest influence for the emancipation of four million slaves, an unparalleled political and social influence generally on that subject.

Among the female luminaries in France Madame Châtelet, the friend of Voltaire, and Madame de Staël, the enemy of Napoleon Bonapart, are the most prominent in their respective periods. Madame Châtelet was a very extraordinary scholar. She not only translated the works of Sir Isaac Newton, but wrote a valuable criticism on his astronomical discoveries, displaying so much mathematical and philosophical skill as to induce Frederick the Great to inquire of Voltaire if he had assisted her, who replied that he was incapable to instruct her on that subject.

Madame de Staël was the daughter of a distinguished banker of Paris. Her virtues and talents attracted the esteem and admiration of the great historian Gibbon, as well as of the literary men of Europe generally. She flourished at the time and encountered all the persecutions from both factions of the French Revolution and the empire which followed it, Napoleon having banished her from Paris for a period of many years, fearing the trenchant character of her liberal pen. A witty female, Madame Récamier, in this connection, remarked that "Great men might be excused for a too expansive love of women, but no liberality could excuse the fear of one woman." Now, Napoleon was obnoxious to both weaknesses.

Her many philosophical essays, particularly that "On the influence of the passions upon the happiness of individuals and

nations," gained for her a distinguished reputation by its novel and striking manner and learned research, the merit of which was acknowledged in France, Germany, and England, and is read to this day with interest in our own country. With some faults and weaknesses, she must ever rank among the first literary men or women of her time, where she has kept within the line of female power, and on subjects of feminine grasp. We are too apt to couple the word feminine with weakness, because, as compared with masculine power, women are physically weak. But the feminine element of Shakespeare's mind, it must be recollected, has been considered the most enduring feature of his almost inspired works. As an interpreter of motive and action, no intellect is completely balanced without combining both the masculine, which invents, and the feminine, which appreciates and adorns. The preponderance must prevail according to sex. A mere idealistic man and a mere logical woman are equally disagreeable and unsuccessful.

The Greek mythology makes Polyhymnia, one of the muses, devoted to the appreciation of music, poetry, eloquence, and the higher lyric compositions, because in the nature of the sex, man is capable of the necessary invention and combination, but rarely possesses the requisite idealism, sensibility, and instinct to fully appreciate and interpret them.

Hence it is that women have developed the largest number of the highest order of interpreters of dramatic compositions; and while male artists have never been able in a single instance to personate women on the stage with the least success, many of the most decisive masculine characters have been personated by women with such absolute success as to induce many an enraptured maiden to make overtures to the mock stage lover behind the scenes, under a misapprehension of the sex.

An amusing and authentic story is told of Mrs. Woffington's power in this way. Soon after she entered the stage she became engaged to a young gentleman of good family, who abandoned her for a young lady in his own social circle.

Indignant at this faithlessness, she assumed the garb of a military officer, procured an introduction to her rival, made love to her, and was accepted; effected the dismissal of her lover by showing his love-letters to herself, which so incensed the fair aristocrat that she dismissed him for his assurance in addressing

one of her standing in society after having been engaged to a play actress.

The stage, next to the church, is an important factor in the elevation of society, because it frowns down vice and elevates virtue, in many cases more effectually. Garrick, being once asked by a distinguished divine why his theatre was well filled and the church empty, replied, "Because you present truth as if it were fiction; I present fiction as if it were the truth."

The masculine qualities of invention and logic, coupled with, but subordinating, the feminine qualities of idealism and instinct, have placed Homer, as a poet of antiquity, and Milton, in modern times, beyond comparison; while Sophocles, in antiquity, and Shakespeare, in modern times, are the dramatic composers which have never been equalled.

In sculpture we have Praxitiles of antiquity and Michael Angelo in modern times. All these great authors and artists were men of rare genius, who, while their works have been zealously copied, have never been equalled. They are finger-posts of progress, at long distances, and are rare, because the masculine and feminine qualities so rarely reach, in one person, the necessary equilibrium.

And while women have often entered these fields of genius and labor with taste, industry, and culture, still never with great success, by comparison. Yet far exceeding men in their appreciation of the taste, and the æsthetic lessons inculcated thereby. This is more emphatically realized in their love and appreciation of poetry and their artistic power in interpreting dramatic and lyrical compositions.

Their success as artists on the dramatic or the operatic stage, in numbers and quality of merit, far exceeds that of men. And their influence over this phase of the cultivation of society is marked by a refinement unknown to the early theatre, before females took part as artists on the stage.

Time will only permit a few references to the women of the stage, and those only in a sketchy manner, who have exercised influence on the advance of society of their times. No classic actresses have come down to us as artists of note, because women were nearly excluded from the stage, men being employed in the classic and middle ages to personate female character.

Nell Gwynne comes to us among the first of the class which

were prominent. She was the daughter of an indigent cavalier, born in a coal-yard, amidst the greatest poverty, crime, and squalor.

Her beauty, tact, and professional skill brought her before the corrupt court and the attention of Charles II., to whom she became a mistress, and it is said she obtained from him three hundred thousand dollars in four years of that relation. She purchased a necklace at the sale of Prince Rupert at the cost of twenty thousand dollars. She drank, swore, gambled, and squandered money without example. She was witty, reckless, and good-natured. The present Duke of St. Albans is her descendant. Charles made no provision in his will for her, but on his death-bed he requested that his heirs "should not permit poor Nell to starve." With all her frailties, her womanly qualities of open-handed generosity and kindness prevailed. She was the friend and liberal patron of the poets Dryden, Otway, Lee, and Butler, and she persuaded Charles to erect the Chelsea Hospital for disabled soldiers, and donated the land on which it stands. She bequeathed a fund to the parish of St. Martin's in London, which is yet distributing bread to the poor.

Her funeral sermon was preached by the Archbishop of Canterbury, before a sympathizing audience of the best society in London.

Mrs. Bracegirdle and Mrs. Oldfield soon after became the queens of the stage: and although under the vicious state of society in that period their conduct was not regulated by the virtuous care which sustains female chastity with us, yet they were not only received at court, and therefore associated with the best society, but in all other respects illustrated the most refined features of womanly charms, at a time sadly needing social reform.

The Earl of Cardigan is the lineal descendant of Mrs. Oldfield, and her body rests in Westminster Abbey, among the distinguished statesmen, soldiers, poets, and artists of her native country, because talent will be appreciated by intelligent men, even with the drawback of human frailty.

The generosity of true genius was beautifully illustrated by these rival artists in the following incident: By accident or design these two stars were cast in the same play on the same night. A play with a suggestive title, the "Rival Queens," was to be made the test of their rival popularity. Mrs. Oldfield

appears to have had the preponderance of applause. The next morning Mrs. Bracegirdle wrote to her successful rival a note, which, in my judgment, has no equal in our language, displaying true artistic pride, generosity of feeling, and delicacy of compliment, couched in true womanly sympathy. I venture to quote it and the equally admirable reply as related in Mr. Reade's novel, perhaps literally as written. Mrs. Bracegirdle writes:

"Madam, the best judges we have, have decided in your favor. I shall never play second on a stage where I have been first so long, but I shall often be a spectator, and methinks none will appreciate your talents more than I who have felt their weight. My wardrobe, one of the best in Europe, is of no use to me. If you will honor me by selecting a few of my dresses, you will gratify me, and I shall fancy to see myself upon the stage to greater advantage than before."

To this glowing emanation from the female heart, Mrs. Oldfield modestly replies:

"Madam, the town has often been wrong, and may have been so last night, in supposing that I vied successfully with your merit; but this much is certain,—and here, madam, I am the best judge,—that off the stage you have just conquered me. I shall wear with pride any dress you have honored; and shall feel inspired to great exertions by your presence among our spectators—unless, indeed, the sense of your magnanimity and the recollection of your talent should damp me by the dread of losing any portion of your good opinion."

As these celebrated women were passing off the stage, and such actors as Garrick were reforming it of its grossness of conception and stilted delivery, Mrs. Woffington appeared, celebrated for her beauty and her wonderful powers of adapting herself to any character, male or female, to be represented on the stage. She was born in Dublin, 1718. Her father, a poor bricklayer, died when she was only a few years old. Her mother was a hard-working washwoman with three children to support. Margaret,—Peggy, as she was called,—the oldest, was well known in the streets as the cheerful, barefooted vendor of salad.

She attracted the attention of a kind and intelligent woman, a French rope-dancer, who inspired in her a desire for mental improvement, and fitted her for the stage. She carried into that profession all the graces and dignified culture of the highest

social life, in which she filled a prominent part. Off as well as on the stage she was equally at home, and took the audience by storm as Sir Harry Wildair, Lady Townly, or Lady Betty Modish. She attained general excellence in female characters seemingly inconsistent with each other,—the most petulant as well as the most lofty or the most ludicrous. Cordelia and Ophelia of Shakespeare, and the Lady Pliant of Congreve, were among her best representations, and have never been equalled since on any stage. She in many cases exceeded her authors in presenting their characters. Superior elegance, wanton ignorance, combined with absurdity, petulance, and folly, with peevishness and vulgarity, she could personate to the life.

It was said of her by a distinguished contemporary writer: "She was adorned with every virtue; honor, truth, benevolence, and charity were her distinguishing qualities."

On her return from a successful engagement, where titled and learned ladies and gentlemen vied with each other to do her honor, an old, needy artist solicited, as Mr. Reade relates, the honor of painting her portrait as a means of notoriety and profit for himself in the patronage of the titled and the wealthy among her admirers.

At great personal inconvenience she gave him many sittings. Ambitious to exhibit his work, he invited a large number of the most distinguished art critics and society people to his studio on a given day, when he hoped to have the portrait finished. Whether it was his own want of artistic power, or his nervousness, he was unable to finish the face to his own satisfaction, and in a fit of despair dashed a hole through the face of the picture, and declared that no painter could do justice to so much beauty. Mrs. Woffington, in sympathy for his disappointment and the mortification to which he would be subject when his visitors should come to his studio, with her usual tact and love of fun got him to cut the face out of the picture carefully and fit the opening to her own face, which she proposed to exhibit in that way to complete the picture for the opinions of the critics.

She had the frame set in a dark part of the room, so obstructed as to prevent the visitors from getting too near to the painting. She inserted her face, and the artist toned it and the picture into harmony with each other. The room, at the appointed time, was filled by her admirers, who generally con-

curred that the drapery and pose of the figure were well done as to color and graceful disposition of the parts, but the face was a fright,—the nose too short, the mouth too long, and the flesh tints of the face coarse and abominable, neither a woman nor nature was represented, while the expression was to the last degree vulgar and idiotic.

At this point there developed a speaking likeness from the picture, to the mortification of the art critics: "You are all mistaken; she is a woman, for she has taken you all in; she is nature, for you fluent dunces don't know her when you see her."

The great female tragedian, Mrs. Siddons, born 1755, was the daughter of an itinerant actor. She became first a lady's-maid, and afterwards married a second-rate actor. Her power over the passions was so great that she caused that stolid individual George III. to weep. No actress has ever received such homage in her time. Sir Joshua Reynolds painted her as the tragic muse. The cold Dr. Johnson kissed her, and was in raptures over her genius. It is admitted that her grace, noble carriage, elocution, earnestness, pathos, and grandeur, with correct judgment, have never been approached by any artist. The great orator, Erskine, studied her tones and cadences. The poet Campbell said of her, "She increased the heart's capacity for tender, intense, and lofty feelings."

Many of these distinguished women of the stage have far exceeded men, as I have said, in the intellectual discrimination and artistic rendering of the drama. While strongly impressing their talents on society, their lives have the drawback, as a class, of an insufficient regard for that crowning female virtue, chastity, which, in this age, cannot be tolerated.

Without inquiring how far this laxity is to be condoned, in consideration of the voluptuous habits of those times and the loose morality which then obtained in France and England, as well as by reason of the exposure to temptation to which beauty and talent are always subjected in the public career of female artists,—in the present day the exposure of Mrs. Langtry to those temptations is not an exception,—I am not disposed to ignore what is due to their sex, considering the advantages conferred on society by their talents, and the practice of other virtues which have enlarged the intelligence and increased the pleasure and cultivation of modern society. Lord Bolingbroke once remarked to Voltaire, commenting on the weaknesses and

vices of a distinguished man, "He is so great I forget his faults." I feel the same charity towards women of distinguished ability whose frailties are often unselfish, and arise from the seductions of our own sex. I recall the text of Scripture, "Let him that is without sin among you cast the first stone."

This paper is already so long and diffusive that I must forego citing the many interesting and influential women who have figured as artists and in literary pursuits in our own country and on both sides of the Atlantic among the English-speaking race, as well as those of Germany and France.

In the imperfect sketches, which for want of time are shorn of their real merit, and adduced only to interest you in further investigation, I am confirmed in the opinion that a woman's most effective service in society, consistent with her own comfort and elevation, is that of the mistress of a household, from which all that is good and permanent emanates. Men may value themselves on their own independence and efficiency in public matters, but a careful observer will discover that the best and most influential men in all communities are those whose home life finds woman's influence effective and paramount.

Women are made for love rather than for friendship; their influence is consequently circumscribed to that narrow but enduring sphere of affection. Men, on the contrary, are made for friendship rather than love; the exercise, therefore, of this more diffusive element of social life in public matters is better adapted for political purposes. Men are strong in friendship and feeble in love. Women are strong in love, feeble in friendship. The Countess Hahn Hahn has declared that woman is incapable of a sustained pursuit of an abstract idea. She says, and says truly, "When a woman's heart is touched, when it is moved by love, when the electric spark is communicated and the fire of inspiration flares up, even then she desires no more than to suffer and die for what she loves. That woman remains to be born who is capable of interesting herself for an abstract idea."

Now, the history of all time is filled with cases where men have sacrificed their lives and property, as fancied or real patriots, on abstract questions of government, and as sectarians for abstract questions of theology.

It is not claimed that women are less diligent, that they are unfitted for the exercise of political power, or that the ascendency of the sex in matters of state would lead to weak or

unstable measures. On the contrary, the average intelligence and qualifications are clearly in favor of women. But it is that instinct, nature, and the qualifications of the female mind, as well as their physical construction, open a different avenue for them to travel, which does not lead them to masculine pursuits; and the exercise of them would but detract from their dignity and influence, a power which, at least in our country, prevails over the strongest and most influential minds which shape the affairs of society.

That there are many occupations which unmarried and self-supporting women might fill better than men, and certainly as well, and for which they should receive the same compensation, is fast finding general acceptance; the laws of trade and competition regulate this without the doubtful resort of women to the degradation of politics, with or without its abstract idea.

The instincts and the relations of sex may wisely bar out women from some of the masculine professions. The home duties of married life should be first considered and encouraged as the province of women, as the out-of-door business life and industry is that of man. These reciprocal privileges and duties, sharply defined, are the true interest of society, and the greatest incentive to matrimony, which, after all, brings the only solid happiness which society affords to the aspirations of either sex, and clearly, with all its cares and anxieties, a blessing to woman as it is a crowning glory to man, for—

> "Without its hopes, without its fears,
> Without the home that plighted love endears;
> Without the smile from partial beauty won,
> Oh! what were man—a world without a sun."

There is, however, in our own times an unfortunate tendency on the part of snobbish women, whose sudden good fortune—thanks to the enterprise and energy of their husbands—has elevated them into a comparative position of independence and sometimes extravagance, whose example is doing much to mislead their less fortunate sisters, whose husbands are yet struggling to make both ends meet with the laudable desire of providing for a comfortable independence before old age or death shall terminate their efforts.

These parvenus seem to hold housewifery as degrading, and even when from early habit of necessity quite accustomed and

experienced in such avocations, they now ignore all useful employment as beneath them. They may condescend to braid, embroider, or fabricate bead or other fancy work, all of which is certainly commendable in its way, as it affords at least a means of innocent occupation; but they would resent any intimation that they were capable of any useful industry of the household or their ability to make their own or their children's clothing, or a shirt for their husband, consenting at times to sit down in a slipshod room till Bridget has time or inclination to put it in order; having still greater aversion to the duties of the kitchen, leaving an industrious and painstaking husband to the vile cooking of an ignorant girl, without a wife's care and intelligent instruction, by which dyspepsia might be avoided, he is often driven to a public restaurant or a club to solace himself with a decent meal to sustain his efforts in procuring the means of his wife's support.

Such women, without shame, will declare with pride that they do not understand cookery and household duties, and that they have become disgusted with the supervision of servants. Hotel life, a fashionable boarding-house or a flat, where no household duties are required, is the refuge of this class of women. Shopping, scandal, and a ride in the park are their sole occupations, and they rejoice that they are enfranchised from the domestic slavery of their mothers.

It is this indifference, if not hostility, to the duties of domestic life and economy, and the growing extravagance entailed thereby, which militates against matrimony, so obvious at present in our cities among prudent young men of limited means, who look with well-founded alarm on the extravagance to which their modest earnings will be subjected by marrying a fashionable young woman taken from a social circle requiring her to begin life where her father left off.

This commentary is not intended for the rich, whose means are adequate to meet the expenditures of fashionable life, but for beginners of both sexes, who have a right to the mutual support of each other, and whose future depends on the earnings of the one and the economy of the other.

Nor are these remarks intended to enforce a mean or unnecessary economy by withholding a reasonable participation in the pleasures and even in the elegances of life while youth affords the desire and the ability to enjoy, nor to abridge the

taste for a reasonable expenditure to adorn their persons and their homes. These æsthetic tastes are the essentials of true life, and the reward of a husband's industry and enterprise, properly belonging to the American home, and a proper tribute to the taste and culture of his wife. But a reckless disregard of this essential economy has driven husbands into the gambling operations of Wall Street, too often in modern times terminating in fraud, defalcation, and disgrace.

It is the contented household, who can see without envy the lavish expenditures of the rich and avoid the folly of attempting to rival them with limited means, which elevates society and promotes individual independence.

The promotion of the literary and educational objects of this Lyceum furnishes a fruitful field for the social ambition of the intelligent men and women of our own conservative community.

In this field there is a contest between the sexes, without reference to wealth or ostentation, which promotes equally the dignity and the cultivation of both, where the display of the resources of the brain rather than of the purse incites to a higher ambition, and confirms that equality which originates in the genius of our republican institutions, and in placing women's influence in society in harmony with the habits and instincts of her sex. Byron, after sounding the depths of pleasure and of pain, having reaped all that extravagance and luxury afforded with all its vain competitions, disappointments, and sorrow, realizing at last the hollowness of unrestrained passion, yet filled with gratitude for the unselfish devotion and untiring love of his sister, addresses her, with the inspiration of a poet, a tender tribute to her many virtues, which justly applies to the whole sex, an extract from which affords me, in closing my remarks on "Woman and her Relations to Society," a formulated opinion for maintaining that her piety, her sympathy, her love, and her restraining influence are the efficient and only means by which society has been or can be elevated and purified. Man might well say, at the close of his career, to a faithful wife,—

"Though the day of my destiny's over,
And the star of my fate hath declined,
Thy soft heart refused to discover
The faults which so many could find.
Though thy soul with my grief was acquainted,
It shrunk not to share it with me,

And the love which my spirit hath painted,
It never hath found but in thee.
Though human, thou did'st not deceive me;
Though human, thou did'st not forsake;
Though loved, thou foreborest to grieve me;
Though slandered, thou never could'st shake;
Though trusted, thou did'st not disclaim me;
Though parted, it was not to fly;
Though watchful, 'twas not to defame me,
Nor mute, that the world might belie.

* * * * * *

In the desert a fountain is springing;
In the wild waste there still is a tree,
And a bird in the solitude singing,
Which speaks to my spirit of thee."

LETTER TO THE NEW YORK CHURCHMAN

ON THE GROWING HOSTILITY OF EUROPEAN SENTIMENT TO THE TYPICAL AMERICAN CHARACTER.

Winyah Park, New Rochelle, New York,
June 1, 1898.

"To see oursel's as others see us."—Burns.

To the New York Churchman:

Mr. Editor,—In your issue of May 21, attention is called to the growing hostility of European sentiment to the typical American character, and you tender an invitation to *priests or laymen,* for the defence of the ideals of our people, in which you very truly express the opinion, that "there is growing up in this country a class of pessimistic critics who are exposing the undoubted faults of the people and the government, without bringing into proper relief the overwhelming merits and virtues of the public at large, which furnishes foreigners with a basis for attacks upon America that are growing in frequency and severity,—doubled in volume and ferocity since the present war began,—and should not be treated as lightly as they are by the people and the press. It has always been a matter of great moment to a nation how it is regarded by its neighbors."

We must first candidly admit the existence of these evils and weaknesses which afford examples for animadversion in social or political life—at home or abroad—and then try to correct them. Will you permit, Mr. Editor, one of your many lay readers, who concurs with you in your well-considered article, as he has concurred with your general conservative and sound editorial policy of the past fifty years, to deal with this question from the stand-point of a plain citizen, who has had the opportunity of more or less observation in Europe among the upper middle class of business, banking, and manufacturing society, practically the real rulers of their respective governments? During my many visits to Europe, before and during and since

the Civil War, I have enjoyed the advantage of carrying introductory letters from our government at Washington to our ministers and consuls in many of the capitals of Europe. Having business connected with many of them financially, I have had the opportunity to witness, and the gratification of realizing, the absolute and unqualified respect, and, indeed, admiration, of our country and its ideals. Even during the period of our Civil War, a respect and friendly consideration was extended to us, largely increased by the success of the Union cause and the absolute supremacy of law and order under the profound peace secured by the government in every section of our broad domain, with the most perfect harmony and equality over the whole country. I am here constrained to remark that the animus of which you complain emanates from an unfortunate desire in some quarters to undervalue our democratic institutions, justified largely by the example of a class of speculative parvenus, most of whose wealth as suddenly acquired as it was not always procured by honest enterprise or industry, who, finding themselves unable to lead in the more simple and refined society of modest republican fortunes, have emigrated to the hotels of London, Paris, and other places of fashion, where they could establish an aristocracy of wealth, prominent in extravagance, while offering the fortunes of their daughters for husbands to such of the nobility as needed American money to repair the fortunes of European families whose wealth was not equal to their aristocracy.

WEALTHY WIDOWS AS WELL AS THE DAUGHTERS OF SUCH PARVENUS GO ABROAD TO SEEK TITLED HUSBANDS.

Apart from these speculative railway and mining kings, who send their families abroad to market their daughters, we have a class of widows whose wealth is far in excess of their refinement, who go to Europe as soon as their husbands' estates can be properly settled; estates often amassed by honorable but humble occupations, as in the case of Paran Stevens, the originator and keeper of the Revere House, the best hotel in Boston, whose wealth entertained the Prince of Wales more sumptuously than that afforded by his own subjects, and the Countess of Waldersee, another distinguished widow, the daughter of a New York grocer, who emigrated after the death of her husband. These fascinating widows, like all our American women, made more

irresistible by their fortunes and intelligence, would be a boon to the countries of their adoption if they would maintain the ideal of their own country with dignity and economy. That vague and fascinating place where they fancy and frequently realize that they are destined to shine, and where, under the countenance of the Prince of Wales, or some other titled leader in Europe patronizing them, they lead American society into vulgar examples of their views of aristocracy, giving European critics the idea that our country is thus properly represented. Indeed, the great social prize for our parvenu families and their heirs and daughters appears to be a visit from the Prince of Wales and an invitation to the Queen's drawing-room receptions, the passion for which is the great annoyance of our Minister in London.

AMBITION FOR FOREIGN TITLES BY MARRIAGE.

This ambition for foreign titles and associations appears to have opened a regular trade or barter between the impecunious princes, dukes, lords, and counts of Europe and a class of rich parvenu women of our own country for the reciprocal exchange of American gold for titled husbands, in which society brokers are employed, to be compensated by liberal commissions (ten per cent.) for successful negotiations. A few days ago there appeared in the *New York Herald's* editorial notices the following paragraph:

"Prince de Lenoir, of Belgium, has instructed an agent in this country to secure a wife for him who is willing to pay a million of dollars for the title."

In the news columns of the same day is an interesting and lengthy correspondence on the subject, by which it appears that the broker, whose name is given, informs the agent of the prince that he has three applicants ready to pay the million of dollars required for the titled husband; but it appears that the prince has somewhat retarded the negotiation by requiring the purchase money to be paid in cash, and refuses stocks or real estate, which the fair purchasers, owing to the present stagnation in real estate, have been as yet unable to comply with.

This correspondence also develops the fact that the prince has refused to advance the broker six hundred dollars, which he alleges he needs to keep himself properly before his fair friends as a negotiator, and was also unwilling to answer the

inquiry of one of the ladies as to his own personal obligations at home.

This popular and humiliating barter of the fortunes of our women in exchange for titled husbands of the indigent aristocracy of Europe is shorn of much of its future degradation, such marriages being rarely prolific.

Fancy, Mr. Editor, the degradation of the American ideal by the propagation of a race under such marital selection.

Our social life cannot secure the full respect, or avoid criticism, of the polished classes of Europe to which these parvenus are struggling to enter by means of their wealth till the ideal of our republican institutions is restored: That it is not the privilege of an American gentleman to live on other people's toil, that there is no degradation in honest labor; but in the vigorous language of Ruskin, "there is degradation, and that deep, in extravagance, in bribery, in indolence, in pride, in taking places they are not fit for. It does not disgrace a gentleman to become a day-laborer, but it does disgrace him to become a knave, and knavery is not the less knavery under the name of speculation or because it involves large interests, nor theft the less theft because it is countenanced by usage or is beyond the reach of the law." Now, Mr. Editor, we have yet, thank God! an overbalancing moral power in our American society of men and women, who respect and practise this republic's ideal, but they are not represented abroad by the class to which I have in these remarks referred.

LARGE FORTUNES BY SPECULATION.

The large fortunes amassed within our time, chiefly in speculative railway, mining, and other corporate bodies, many of them fostered by corrupt national and State legislation, are represented in part by the Vanderbilts, the Goulds, the Wilsons, the Mackays, the Bradley-Martins, and other representatives of sudden accumulations of enormous fortunes, hardly a tithe of them, as I have said, from legitimate business, and almost without exception from humble origin and moderate intellectual culture of person or family; and yet these are the assumed representatives of the social life of our country in Europe, and without competition, the example of their extravagance repelling association by that class of cultivated Americans which formerly exemplified the American ideal of the genius of our form of a

democratic republican government, which had irresistibly made itself a power with the upper middle classes, as a type of the advanced civilization of the age, even combating without offence, as it did, socially and politically, the theories and practice of the monarchies of Europe; a wonderful genius for business and national progress, and by an educated simplicity verging into national dignity.

It has been well remarked that the ideals of a people were the realities of God. Now, the ideal of every true American is the love of his country, its free and equal democratic institutions, which leave no place for grafting the social or political ideals of the monarchies of Europe, the vain attempts at which justify much of the criticism of which you complain, criticism not undervaluing the ideals of our American republic, but the departure from them by Americans in Europe and their degrading toadyism, which appears to glory in the departure. The origin and spread of our constitutional democracy, modifying the monarchies of Europe within the century, should enlist the pride of every American instead of making haste to expatriate himself as soon as he has acquired a fortune under the fostering protection of its equal laws, and before either education or association has qualified him to enter the coveted sphere of an aristocracy to which only his money gives him access, but without that sympathy or equality—in social life of an aristocracy of birth and fortune—with which law and long inheritance have endowed them.

AMBITION FOR SOCIAL RECOGNITION IN EUROPE.

These seceders from their own country in quest of aristocratic distinction in Europe rarely realize their ambitious hopes, and it is well known even in consideration of their wealth; their relative humble origin and parvenu character are a bar in the eyes of a social life tracing its origin back into centuries of wealth and privilege. These old families may tolerate, but do not readily open their exclusive circle to the recently acquired speculative fortunes from other countries. Whatever favorable reputations our millionaires may have abroad is conferred on our citizens as a just tribute to the dignity and power of our great republic, directing and developing the destinies of a continent of freemen.

This passion for even an humble connection with the aristoc-

racy of Europe extends to and is merged with politics; and our own Boss Croker, in his race-horse connection with the Prince of Wales, can only afford Tammany Hall a visit of a few weeks occasionally, to return among us to regulate and direct in Greater New York its municipal affairs and the general policy of the Democratic party of the State. His arrival on the steamer of these occasions is heralded by our journals in large type, and committees meet him in the bay, to welcome, with becoming gratitude, the important favor of his return.

THE RETURN TO THIS REPUBLICAN IDEAL OF SOCIAL LIFE.

But here, Mr. Editor, I may properly leave further details of the social extravagance employed as the means of illustrating the alleged vulgarity of that class in Europe which is too often construed by foreigners as the American ideal of social life, but which we hope, in due time, will correct itself when these speculative mining and railway fortunes cease to accumulate or have spent their force, and the republican taste and propriety of culture shall again prevail among Americans abroad as they formerly gave character to our travellers visiting Europe occasionally for the purpose of recreation and the advantage of the art and the literature of older countries, but never to display their accumulated wealth by means of which to force themselves into a social recognition of the privileged class abroad for which they were not well equipped at home. And just here I would cite the example and character of our diplomatic representatives in every court in Europe as a worthy example of the American ideal at home, as exemplified by Washington, Jefferson, and Franklin.

The wonderful transition from poverty to wealth, from insignificance to prominence, in our country is the just and proper heritage of industry and enterprise, and the success of the founders of the fortunes under discussion are among the realizations of the past fifty years. I recall, during my own wedding tour through New England, the first practical example of the enterprising and successful American hotel system, the Revere House, in Boston, just then opened by Paran Stevens, and from which example originated the high character of that occupation in the two continents, and for which our country is distinguished in that line. On the same occasion I was a passenger in a steamboat from Newport to New York; the captain of that steamer

afterwards became the prominent citizen and also the founder of our reformed and progressive railway system, the worthy millionaire, Commodore Vanderbilt. Among my valued friends of this useful and enterprising class was another of these early founders of a family then largely engaged in the cooperage industry of Brooklyn, a gentleman of fine mental attainments and noted as a political economist of the strictest realistic class, which gave, like the above business men, no incentive to the extravagant demonstration of the New York Bradley-Martin ball, a couple of years ago, which led to introducing his daughter into the vulgar display of American wealth in London, and her introduction, by marriage, into the aristocracy of that country.

AMERICAN WEALTH IN EXCHANGE FOR A FOREIGN TITLE.

The reciprocity of wealth in exchange for a title pervades every one of these marriages,—generally impecunious noblemen on one side, wealthy American women on the other. Another founder, Mr. Gould, of this coterie under discussion, with whom I have come into contact, is, to say the least, unworthy of our country, because his fortune is the product of a shady speculative character, and his connection with the celebrated and ruinous gold panic in Wall Street, and his more ruinous and criminal connection with the Erie Railroad, in which I am, with many others, as a bond- and stockholder of that railway, a victim, with also the mortification as a former director of that company at a time when its credit and responsibility occupied the highest standard of financial usefulness. I had the honor of being on the committee to receive the Prince of Wales when he visited the city, and I am quite sure that none of us would have presumed to have introduced this millionaire to the young Prince of Wales, or the distinguished noblemen accompanying him, as a worthy representative of American character. I might extend my reminiscences further as to this coterie which poses as American representatives of the social life in London and Paris under the patronage of the Prince of Wales, but I only desire to show the mixed character by which successful and ambitious wealth may usurp and put in the shade modest and cultured families abroad, and give more or less point to the charges to which you refer of European criticism.

But, Mr. Editor, I would not be a pessimist. This ridiculous

parvenu feature of our times will pass away, with the exceptional success of the speculations which have enabled illiterate persons to engraft vulgarity as well as extravagance on American life at home and abroad, unless a continuous expenditure of the public money to defray the expenses of this Spanish War shall reopen the shoddy experience of our Civil War.

JONATHAN LOVES A LORD AND A TITLE.

Our own society of the four hundred have, to some extent, the excuse and advantage of birth and culture, as well as wealth, to justify their exclusiveness at home, and our good-natured English critics tell us that Jonathan "loves a lord," verified by the overwhelming attentions extended to every scion of a titled family that drifts to us fortune-hunting from Europe, as the pets and darlings of our parvenu society in this city, while distinguished literary and scientific foreigners are rarely noticed in fashionable quarters or in the society journals of Newport or New York.

It is true that, notwithstanding our neglect of public duty, which opens the avenue to public misrule and corruption, there is a law of Providence exercised in human affairs analogous to those we witness in the natural world, which sooner or later restores reason, order, and justice to a community without which society could not exist; but this consoling fact does not mitigate present evils or remove the dangerous menaces which confront the future.

I recall a scene in a hotel parlor in Rome which impressed me very much. An American traveller was discussing good-naturedly with a couple of young English gentlemen the relative merits of their countries. He was asked how he ranked England and America in the scale of nationality, for they averred that they were pleased with his liberality. He replied at once, America first; and with exquisite culture said, "My republican country is a revised and improved edition of a standard copy of your monarchy, to which we all love to refer as an ancestor, but not to copy." One of these gentlemen said, pointing to a couple of American dudes seated at a table across the room, "You differ from your countrymen there, who last night deplored the want of a privileged class in America; the cause, they averred, of the growing desire of wealthy families

to locate in the capitals of Europe, and added that, with the increasing prosperity of the country and the march of civilization thereby, this important feature would be engrafted on the institutions of the republic, as in the older countries of Europe, when it will be unnecessary for our wealthy families to seek foreign husbands for their daughters with which to engraft titles on their family tree, connections now so popular on both sides of the matrimonial market." My stalwart democratic friend, with great indignation, replied, "When their opinion is verified these young men will be the last to realize the advantages of the revolution, for in the early coinage of republican titles, men of political significance will be required to fill these distinguished positions."

I afterwards ascertained that one of these dudes was the son of a retired California saloon-keeper; the other was the son of a New York Standard Oil speculator, and my stalwart friend a New York banker, formerly a successful shipping merchant.

OUR POLITICAL DEPRAVITY.

And now, Mr. Editor, let me call your attention to charges needing correction far more important to us, because concerning the vital interest of our form of representative government and the peace, safety, and dignity of the nation itself; charges coming, as they do, from the highest authority of our church and the profoundest wisdom and the purest patriotism of our citizens cannot be ignored or cast aside as the hasty opinion of mere pessimism. Over ten years ago I listened to the late Dr. Washburn, at Calvary Church, while addressing one of the most cultivated congregations of our city, in which were many of our leading jurists and statesmen. I recall the distinguished lawyers and statesmen, among them William M. Evarts and David Dudley Field. As the reverend pastor eloquently dealt with the then growing corruptions in public life, and earnestly urged as the duty of the church to confront and overthrow them, he remarked, "We may well tremble as we receive the proofs within these four years of the unblushing sins that have disgraced our Congress; the hucksters, high and low, have made merchandise of our national honor." I recall, about the same time, the patriotic and manly sermon arraigning these official perversions of government eloquently delivered by our own Bishop Potter, at St. Paul's Church, in the presence of an incoming federal

administration, which reminded me, at the time, of a kindred occasion when the prophet Nathan, under a stern sense of duty, rebuked another ruler, that of the Jewish commonwealth. The bishop, after a glowing description of the character and times of Washington's administration, by which to show our deterioration in public life, remarked, "A generation which vaunts its descent from the founder of the republic seems largely to be in danger of forgetting their pre-eminent distinction. They were few in number; they were few in worldly possessions; the sum of the fortunes of the richest among them would afford a fine theme for the scorn of the plutocrat of to-day; but they had an invincible confidence in the truth of those democratic principles in which the foundations of the republic had been laid, and they had an unselfish purpose to maintain them. The conception of the national government, as a huge machine existing mainly for the purpose of rewarding partisan service, was a conception so alien to the character and conduct of Washington and his associates that it seems grotesque even to speak of it. It would be interesting to imagine the first President of the United States confronted with some one who had ventured to approach him upon the basis of what is now commonly known as practical politics; but the conception is impossible. With loathing the outraged majesty would have bidden such a creature to be gone."

These earnest and timely cautions, uttered ten years ago, with others from thoughtful citizens in clerical and civil life, have not had the conservative effect on practical politics which their vital importance deserves. We seem to have received them as the poet expresses it,—

> "Truths would you teach to save a sinking land?
> All fear, none aid you, and few understand."

A MORE RECENT CLERICAL REVIEW OF PUBLIC AFFAIRS.

In a more recent discourse on this subject, realizing the present despotic reign of our bossism, one of our popular metropolitan divines told his congregation plainly, "We are too busy with our private business to attend to public affairs. The misgovernment of the country is not due to ignorance, nor because of the foreign vote, but because of the well-to-do intelligent classes. It is just such men as I see here before me who are

responsible, and who allow unworthy men to be placed in office. They have no time for public affairs, and place themselves under the protection of the brambles." And history repeats itself.

CICERO'S REBUKE TO THE ROMANS.

Cicero, in the last days of republican Rome, indignant with just such a class of wealthy citizens as we now have, who recklessly ignore public duty while conservative citizens are struggling in a hopeless minority against corruption and misrule, in national, State, and municipal politics, told his Roman audience, plainly and prophetically, that as they valued their fish-ponds and other luxuries above the stability and freedom of their country, in time they would realize the loss of freedom, and with it their fish-ponds and their luxuries also.

Rome was never stronger in all the seeming elements of power than at the moment of her fall. She had (as we have done) grown rich, and riches had corrupted her morals, rendered her effeminate, ignoring civil duty, making her an easy prey for the anarchist and the despot. Bancroft has wisely said, "Sedition is bred in the lap of luxury." And in modern times, in our own country, such is the political optimism towards the dangers which we escape, that I am constrained to accept the popular faith,—that God takes care of children, fools, and the United States.

Civil and religious liberty is as much the gift of God as our reason or any other temporal blessing. We are equally accountable for the use and preservation or neglect of either as Christians or as citizens.

SOCIALISM AND REVOLUTION IN THE WESTERN STATES.

We have already painful evidences of vicious inroads of this character in our Western cities; disorganizing societies, openly declaring hostilities to our most cherished institutions. The red flag of socialism and anarchy is often substituted for the stars-and-stripes of constitutional freedom, which painfully reminds us of the bloody events of the French Revolution. The disgraceful action of one of these Legislatures in attempting to exclude the study of the science of political economy, as well as of the Holy Bible, from their seminaries of learning in this nineteenth century gives evidence of this growing tendency towards anarchy. The science of government is a study which

has the endorsement of every educated body in Christendom, and that of the Christian Bible is the basis of morality and liberty,—enlightening the world. The decision of one of its Supreme Courts, which affirms the Bible to be a sectarian book and its use in the public schools unconstitutional, is well calculated to arouse fears for our civilization itself, and challenges the damaging comments of our foreign critics.

This departure from the American ideal in the West becomes the more serious when we contemplate the great influence and power of that section of the Union. General Pope, in his interesting article in the *North American Review,* informs us that at the close of the Civil War the President, Vice-President, Chief Justice, all the Cabinet Officers, the Speaker of the House of Representatives, the first and second generals of the victorious Union army, and the admiral of the navy—in short, every government official, civil and military—were Western men; and further, notwithstanding her boasted educational system, New England, during that period, produced no great general, commander, or statesman. While the present distribution of these offices has been somewhat modified, the preponderance is largely against the East, because of their indifference to public duty as citizens, their representative men being dropped from public life. The narrow escape during our last Presidential election from putting into Executive power the young demagogue, Bryan, and his populistic and silver revolutionists, for the perversion of our monetary system and the overthrow of our national credit, as well as the impairing of our peaceable relations with other countries, is well calculated to arouse our fears that the contest is to be fought over again at the next federal election.

USURPATION BY CONGRESS OF THE FUNCTIONS OF THE EXECUTIVE.

At this time, in the face of the financial exigency of providing funds, by taxation, to meet the expenses of the war, which the legislative department, by its usurped rash influence, prematurely forced on the Executive, a war for which the country was unprepared,—at a time, too, while the President was wisely engaged under favorable diplomatic negotiations for the settlement of any fancied or real wrong on the part of Spain, or even the trumped-up sympathies for the worthless and

cowardly Cuban filibusters, for whom the public have no sympathy and but little respect in their pose as patriots, and will be of no value in this war to our army; at this time, too, when Congress should have facilitated every effort of the government to raise funds for the subsistence of the navy and the army, by which to bring the war to a successful close by conquering a peace,—this disorganizing body are as blatant as ever in their speeches for the overthrow of our financial credit and money system, because it conforms to the usage of other countries; and with this hostility they cry for *a more vigorous foreign policy,* by which we should be entangled in the intrigues of the military affairs of other countries contrary to our settled policy bequeathed by the fathers of our country,—*Of good-will to all, but entangling alliances with none.*

COBDEN'S WARNING AGAINST FOREIGN ALLIANCES.

And here let me cite the prophetic words of the late Richard Cobden, another of our best friends among the English statesmen. In a letter to a friend he writes:

"I look with less interest on these struggles of races to live apart (Canada and the United States) for what they want to undo than for what they will prevent being done in future. They will warn rulers that henceforth this acquisition of fresh territory by force of arms will only bring embarrassments and civil war instead of that increased strength which in ancient times, when people were passed like flocks of sheep from one king to another," always accompanied the incorporating of her territorial conquests.

That this was the sentiment and practice of our early government, from which we have to-day, after a hundred years' experience, realized all that demonstrates the value of peace, commerce, and enterprise of our country, and freedom from international entanglements or of war, except those of defence, is very clear.

SHERIDAN'S TRIBUTE TO OUR YOUNG REPUBLIC.

In the prophetic tribute to our young republic by the speech of Sheridan before the English Parliament inveighing against war—delivered a hundred years ago—he remarks, "America remains neutral, prosperous, and at peace, thrives at this moment; in a state of envied tranquillity, clearing the paths of

unbounded opulence, has monopolized the commerce which we have abandoned. View her situation, her happiness adding daily to her general credit, to her private enjoyments, and to her public resources, her name and government rising above the nations of Europe with a simple but commanding dignity that wins at once the respect and confidence and the affection of the world."

Let me commend this eloquent Irishman's tribute to the early life of our country to the contemplation of our legislative jingoes and to those who in the present age seek foreign countries to gratify their social ambition, and also to those at home who neglect their political duties while they see corruption and misrule sapping the institutions which afford the blessings so graphically described.

Now, Mr. Editor, what the country needs, in the estimation of every conservative and loyal citizen, is *a more vigorous domestic policy which will drive the jingoes, filibusters, and bosses out of public life.*

JOHN MORLEY'S OPINION.

Our English firm friend, the celebrated member of Parliament, Mr. John Morley, commenting on the proposed Anglo-American alliance, wisely remarked lately, "I know tens of thousands of the best and wisest men of America who believe that hardly any more inexpressible calamity can befall mankind than that a community, as Lincoln nobly said, conceived in freedom and dedicated to the happiness of freed and equal men, should entangle itself in the unrest and intrigues of the Old World." And our own Metropolitan Bishop Satterlee, of Washington, in a recently published letter on the subject confirms this sentiment; he remarks, "I heartily sympathize with any movement which will bring England and America closer together, as they are the only countries which represent constitutional liberty. They have a united mission in civilizing the world; but the time has not yet arrived, in my opinion, for any political or formal alliance. Let us be counselled by our friends to avoid all the blandishments, plausibly put forward, favoring the so-called *vigorous foreign policy,* which distracts us from independent peaceable domestic affairs, and like the present war become, I fear, the opening of that expensive if not dangerous interference popularly called sympathy, an excuse to meddle with other people's affairs."

I fully concur in the sentiment that Voltaire proposed to engrave on the sword of Frederick the Great:

"To lose territory is ignominious, and to conquer those over which we have no legal claim is unjust and criminal rapacity."

A war of aggression is unquestionably the greatest evil known to humanity; the glory of victory is at the expense of the slaughter of thousands of brave men falling on both sides of the contest. It is in conflict with the spirit of the age and the direct doctrine and teachings of Christ, despite the recent opinions of some of our erratic clergy. Indeed, war of any description can only be justified in redressing wrongs and for the defence of territory, and only after all diplomatic adjustment fails. Social and individual philanthropy is a peaceful Christian grace, more lauded than practised, but affording no justification for war, while its pretended exercises in international affairs has always been a fruitful source leading to spoliation and the extension of territory. But during war, right or wrong, the loyal citizen is bound to sustain the government during the conflict by every means known to civilized warfares and legislative expedients, irrespective of personal opinion or party interest.

WAR DOES NOT IMPROVE THE MORALS OF ANY COUNTRY.

But apart from all this there is an ingenious fallacy which compares war as a purifier of the body politic with the thunder-storm and the tornado which purify the atmosphere, a fallacy long since exploded in the history of Europe, which, with all the bloodshed and poverty entailed thereby, has generally introduced bad faith, despotism, and corruption in public life.

It is only necessary to compare the morals of our people before the Civil War with the present to show that war is not a political purifier,—although that Civil War was largely one of sentiment on both sides; yet with all our supposed patriotism, and we have our full share, the corruptions peculiar to war crept in, and I fear our present war will not be exempt from the malign influence which war entails. War, therefore, must have a higher incentive than the purification of the politics of the country. Nor is this war with Spain a necessity (as claimed by our jingoists) for establishing a higher standard of national character. The peaceful exercise of our broad commercial diplomacy—a policy fostered and sustained by the acknowledged prowess and gallantry of our army and navy—has long assured

us of the highest respect of every nation in Europe, and certainly did not justify a hasty invasion of the territories of a friendly nation which had in no manner invaded or menaced our rights, alleging only a false sympathy in behalf of a revolutionary class of Cuban filibusters that had established no practical government, and were, by our own officials residing in Cuba, regarded unfit for self-government if we succeeded in their behalf.

OPINION OF SENATOR HOAR ENDORSING PRESIDENT M'KINLEY'S CONSERVATIVE COURSE.

Here let me give you, Mr. Editor, the wise and eloquent remark of Senator Hoar on this subject, worthy of that class of cultivated and patriotic statesmanship rapidly passing away:

"The starry flag is no symbol of dominion or of empire. Let it now fly, in time of peace, over conquered islands or vassal states. It is the emblem of freedom—of self-government—of law—of equality—of justice—peace on earth and good-will to men. . . . President McKinley has won the love and the admiration of his countrymen by his hesitation to enter upon war even in a holy cause, except in the last extremity."

REFORM CAN ONLY BE EFFECTED BY PERSONAL EFFORT.

There is no reformatory substitute in a republic for corrupt government but by the proper selection of officials, requiring the direct application of personal effort in every step of political organism, from the caucuses of parties up to the ballot-box. The first primary election held under our new election reformatory law has failed utterly to overthrow the Platt machine of the Republican party, for which purpose the law was enacted, but failed of the support of the people. The law itself is an excellent one, but cannot supply the place of the conservative men of a party who have abstained from the personal duties by which alone the law can be made effective for reform. It is said that the Tammany machine looks upon this law with great contempt. They had no difficulty in carrying every primary in Greater New York. In short, Platt swept New York, McLaughlin Brooklyn, and the other boss, Brookfield, was equally victorious in his district. Just as Senator Quay has defeated the reformer in Pennsylvania, they will control the delegations in their respective parties to the State Convention, and will carry

the city and county nomination, making their own partisan nominations in both New York and Pennsylvania, and our defeated citizens of both parties will comfort themselves by denouncing Tammany, Platt, Croker, and Quay, the machine leaders of their parties, but will vote the ticket nominated by their respective parties, perhaps under protest. In these cases what becomes of the privilege of freemen in selecting their representatives? As there is no royal road to mathematics, so there is no legislative road to reform. If citizens desire honest and capable government they must administer it themselves by direct selection of their representatives. We must not rely too much on our admirable form of government. It is, perhaps, the best adapted, as it is the most original, for the highest development for constitutional liberty, but there is much force in the lines:

> "For forms of government let fools contest;
> What e'er is best administer'd is best."

After all, it is but a great machine requiring the constant supervision of its citizens, and it will be a blessing or a curse just as it receives the fostering care of its best citizens, or is relegated to the ignorant and corrupt. In the language of John Philpot Curran, "The price of liberty is eternal vigilance."

When the wagoner (in the fable) fell on his knees and implored the aid of Jupiter to get his wagon out of the ditch, he was properly censured: put your own shoulder to the wheel, and then pray for help.

CITIZENS HAVE ABANDONED GOVERNMENT TO THE BOSSES.

Everything in this world is only procured by personal effort and labor, and can only be preserved by personal care and effort. God, by the patriotic labor of our fathers over a century ago, endowed us with the best form of constitutional liberty,—the acknowledged hopes of the world,—but their degenerate sons of the present age have abandoned the care and support of this national blessing to the absolute custody and direction of corrupt and despotic political bosses, jingo, and filibuster, who even dominate their respective parties. If the devil ever laughs, it must be when our members of Congress talk of their patriotism and of the dignity of the republic; and surely every thoughful American at home or abroad must feel humiliated, as you must, Mr. Editor, by the contemplation that our foreign

critics, friends or enemies of our institutions, have so wide a field for undervaluing the practical administration of our affairs at this time, too often fallaciously attributed to our republican form of government, but really attributable to the wholesale neglect by our best citizens of performing the essential duties of political life for the preservation of republicanism in its purity.

The best and purest administration of republics seems to obtain perfection in their early history, while equality of fortunes prevails among their citizens and when citizens zealously and gladly perform their public duties. The accumulation of wealth and the enjoyment of luxury gradually estrange them from public life, forgetting the Scriptural maxim, "The hand of the diligent shall have rule, but the slothful bear tribute."

The people at large desire honest government, and there is no want of capable men of probity for the discharge of public duty; but when our citizens decline to perform the duties essential to our representative form of government, and delegate the duties of practical government to the machine politicians and their bosses for the selection of candidates to public office, is it not natural that they should select from their own class or those subservient to them? It is to be regretted that our intelligent and conservative citizens, by this criminal neglect of their public duties, have measurably lost that influence over the masses which they formerly exercised in the direction and shaping of public opinion and political and conservative action.

PURITY OF ADMINISTRATION FORMERLY SECURED BY ATTENTION TO THE MACHINERY OF GOVERNMENT.

This was formerly secured by means of faithful attendance on party caucuses and nominating conventions of their respective parties, as well as voting at the polls. This full discharge of citizenship promoted a degree of honesty and good-will even in hostile contest, and largely counteracted the influence of demagogues and professional office-seekers, and there is no substitute but personal effort in a democratic republic. Politics has become a profession, generally graduated in our drinking-saloons (we have over two hundred and fifty thousand in this country; it is said if ranged together they would make a continuous line from New York to Chicago), of which the alumni are the office-holders and contractors. These dangerous

forces now pervade the larger and more influential cities and States. These local bosses plan and scheme to dominate their respective cities and States, and then combine to control federal legislation, defeating the popular will. Their lieutenants hold all the subordinate offices, by their favor, bound to them and their political fortune. They have no interests in common with the people, but, on the contrary, devoid of all wise, honest, or economical purposes, their aspirations are wholly sordid and venal. The truth of this description is not questioned, and yet a large class of intelligent citizens submit to their rule, and fancy that they enjoy a free government, "by and for the people." But the conservative independent press of the age, at home and abroad, will make us "See oursel's as others see us," and in the language of Burns,

> "If there's a hole in a' your coats,
> I rede ye tent it;
> A chiel's amang ye takin' notes,
> And, faith, he'll prent it."

There is a false and unpatriotic prejudice against party politics. Parties in civil affairs of the nation resemble sects in religion; they are means to an end. It is the perversion or misapplication of these forces which is to be deprecated. If it is incumbent on all churchmen to combine for mutual protection and spread of sound theological doctrine and practices, so it is incumbent in civil as well as in religious affairs for the Christians to co-operate with the party in politics which promises the soundest doctrine and purest practice for the government of the country. As the study of and conformity to the Scriptures are essential for the church, sound economic laws and conformity to them are essentials of patriotism. The highest merit of manhood is a Christian statesman. As an example of the highest type, I would name the great English statesman, Gladstone. And on this vital duty an occasional sermon from our pulpits, divested of party issues, would be a popular and valuable public discourse.

LEADING STATESMEN DRIVEN FROM PUBLIC LIFE.

Almost every leading statesman of both parties has been driven out of responsible official life and from representative offices. With few exceptions, from alderman to that of United

States Senator, we are the creatures of political bosses, of machine leaders, as ignorant as they are rapacious. Even our United States Senators, blatant with jingoism, are ever ready to plunge our country into foreign war or overthrow our prosperity and domestic peace by sectional as well as revolutionary financial measures of bad faith, both public and private.

Look at the decadence of our Senators now in Congress. Compare those now representing our own State—Senators Murphy and Platt (one of each party)—with their predecessors in that high office, De Witt Clinton, Rufus King, Silas Wright, Martin Van Buren, William L. Marcy, William H. Seward, Daniel S. Dickinson, John A. Dix, Hamilton Fish, Roscoe Conkling, and William M. Evarts, all, without exception, while representing even the partisanship of their respective times, statesmen of a high order of ability, with the education of statesmen, upright character, wide knowledge of public affairs, and comprehensive grasp of political principles. Does not the comparison of our present representatives in the United States Senate develop a fearful decadence in public life?

I do not overlook the unfortunate coincidence of this character in our public men in other States. Perhaps, with the exception of Senators Sherman, Hoar, and a few of the older Senators who are too inactive to prevent the prevalence of jingoism and other disgraceful attempts to run the country into war, not to mention the sugar scandal, the present Senate has not developed a single prominent man who would have been called a statesman under the administration of President Lincoln. This, Mr. Editor, is a humiliating truth in this age of progressive civilization and advanced proficiency in our seminaries of learning. This decadence in public life is not attributable to want of conservative men of intelligence ready to serve the public, but simply to a lack of earnestness on the part of our citizens in the discharge of their public duties in the selection of our public men, without which, systems, constitutions, or reforms are merely schemes for the demagogue and the partisan boss under which to forge his machinery. We have practically surrendered to machine politicians the government of our country, evils not properly attributable, as is too often alleged, to party machinery, but to the machinery of the corrupt and overpowering bosses who now dominate all parties. In our last Senatorial election by the Legislature in this State, Platt, one

of those bosses without the least claim by education or public record as a statesman, was able overwhelmingly to defeat one of our most brilliant men, Joseph H. Choate, a lawyer and statesman, a leading and popular Republican—and that too, of his own party, who had the earnest support of not only the party press and conservative leaders, but almost the unanimous support of the intelligent and conservative men of all parties in the State desiring to have the State represented once more by a capable and honest statesman and not a political boss.

NO LEADERS IN THE SENATE.—THAT BODY IS HOPELESSLY DEGRADED.

There are no leaders in the Senate, because there is no moral force, and as a body it has forfeited the respect of both parties. It is mortifying as it is startling when we realize the degradation of that once dignified body, in so short a time, from the stand-point of President Lincoln. Such leaders as Webster, Clay, Calhoun, Benton, Choate, Sumner, Bayard, Edmunds, Thurman, Seward, Lamar, Cass, Hunter, Chase, Douglas, Fish, Blaine, Conkling, are now replaced by such would-be leaders as Morgan, Mills, Jones, Vest, Chandler, Quay, Murphy, Platt, Peffer, and Tillman of South Carolina, who replaces Calhoun as Murphy of New York replaces W. H. Seward. Can we wonder that the treaty with Great Britain for mutual settlement of all questions between the two countries has been defeated, against the earnest petition of almost every clerical and civic body, colleges, philanthropists, editors, individuals, and institutions of finance and business in our own country, and, indeed, the earnest desire of the world, as a forward movement between the two leading nations of the earth in behalf of the maintenance of peace worthy of the advanced civilization of the age, and this defeat, too, effected by a small minority, where a two-thirds was required for confirmation?

To make this disparity of statesmanship and of the decline of patriotism clearer as to motive and personality in the Senate, I will adduce two international treaties coming before the United States Senate at different periods as a test of statesmanship; first the treaty with Mexico, following even the irritations of a recent war. The proposed arbitration clauses were supported by all the great statesmen in the Senate of that time, among them Stephen A. Douglas, John J. Crittenden, Reverdy

Johnson, Daniel Webster, Lewis Cass, Jefferson Davis, Thomas H. Benton, John T. Hale, W. L. Dayton, John A. Dix, Daniel S. Dickinson, Simon Cameron, Samuel Houston, and John C. Calhoun. These men voted on this civilizing measure regardless of party or section, and for half a century every dispute between these two nations has been adjusted by arbitration.

DEFEAT OF THE TREATY WITH GREAT BRITAIN.

The defeated treaty with Great Britain was proposed by a former conservative Senate as a forward step in civilization, and not a single tenable argument has since been offered against it. But the present Senate, led by Senator Morgan and Senator Mills and other blatant jingoists with revolutionary proclivities, seems determined to keep the country in a disturbed state. Failing in their attempt to rupture the Union in 1861, to deprave the currency and overthrow our credit at home and abroad in 1876, they next ally themselves to a body of Cuban speculators, adventurers, and troublesome filibusters, in and out of Congress, and plunge the country into an unjustifiable war (no war is justifiable which can be avoided by negotiation) with a feeble European nation, contrary to the spirit of the age, the conservative doctrines of Washington, and against the opinion of our own patriotic and wise Executive, then engaged, by peaceable diplomacy, in the adjustment of the alleged injury; and this, too, in direct opposition to the advice of the President and in the face of the most strenuous objection of our influential citizens, public journals, as well as of the leading publicists and diplomats of the whole country; a war for which we were not yet sufficiently equipped; and while the gallantry of our sailors and soldiers will fully vindicate the inherited glory of the old flag, with or without foreign sympathy, yet victory over such a

NO HONOR IN A WAR WITH SPAIN.

feeble nation as Spain, a war of our own making, will carry no national glory with it, and there may be danger that the natural sympathy of foreign monarchical nations in favor of monarchical over republican powers may prolong the war, and with it the influence of the class of jingoes, silverites, and populists, now in power, who are hampering the government finances by annexing to laws for raising funds the same class of obstructive amendments which their theories imply for depraving the

currency and advancing revolutionary theories generally. Our country can stand the strain of war, but the issues of our victories may lead to engrafting foreign territory, and extending citizenship to people in distant countries, quite out of sympathy with our race and but little removed from barbarism, is not to be contemplated as germane to the government founded by Washington, Jefferson, and Adams, and in derogation of the theory of the Monroe Doctrine, peculiarly American, established for our own security on this continent.

DANGER OF A WAR OF CONQUEST.—OPINION OF EX-PRESIDENT CLEVELAND.

Ex-President Cleveland, in his admirable address before the students and professors of a New Jersey school, commenting on the political evils of the times, and especially the seductive proposition of conquest and expansion of our territory, remarks, "There should be infused into our body politic the counteracting remedy of true patriotic or unselfish American citizenship. That grows out of our love of our government for its own sake and for what it does for every citizen. It is thoughtful and intelligent and has a clear understanding of the doctrines on which our government rests; it rejoices in American traditions; it glories in American objects and purposes, and is proudly contented with the accepted mission of the United States among the nations of the earth. The existence of the highest types of American citizenship depends largely upon the cultivation of the best and most patriotic sentiment among our people. Never before in our history have we been beset with temptations so dangerous as those which now whisper to our ears the alluring words of conquest and expansion and point out to us fields bought with the glory of war. . . . If the time has come for our nation to abandon its old landmarks and to follow the lights of monarchical hazards, and that we should attempt to enforce the simple machinery of our popular and domestic government to serve the schemes of imperialism; if you are satisfied that foreign conquests are warranted, extension or annexation are dangerous perversions of our national mission, and shall seem to you in the light of reason and history that such demoralization and decay of popular sentiment is more destructive to the republic than armies, you will not be necessarily wrong.

". . . As an illustration of our past methods, it has occurred to you that though this nation is young, we have within its short existence, by close adherence to our original designs and purposes, astonished the world by our progress and the development of our vast possessions. With our first century's tremendous growth and advance before your eyes as proof of the strength and efficacy of consistent Americanism, you will find in the beginning of our second century proof of the abundance of our present domain in millions of acres of American territory still unoccupied, while hundreds of government officers wait to bestow it upon settlers. You will also see other large acreages of American soil yet untrodden by the foot of man, while our gates are still open to receive those from other lands to share our homes and privileges. In view of these things, and considering our achievements in the past and our promises for the future under the guidance of the rules and motives which have thus far governed our national life, we surely are entitled to demand the best of reasons and exact conclusive explanations of the conditions which make our acquisitions of new and distant territory either justifiable, prudent, or necessary."

THE GREAT PROBLEM, SHALL WE DEVELOP THE VIRTUES OF OUR IDEAL?

There is a problem before us in the affairs of this great republic in which the well-wishers of the rights of man and the advance of civilization feel an interest over the entire world, and will discuss to our advantage or disadvantage as we develop the virtues or the vices of our peculiar form of constitutional government. England has developed the higher form of monarchy by a steady adhesion and an active loyalty to its theory, and every class of its subjects is proud of its laws and its country. The wealthy and cultivated, alike with the humblest, are to be found promoting the interests and rights of the country by the discharge of their political duties in every detail of public life. No boss or jingo or revolutionary leader can obtain footing in their politics, nor are their millionaires going abroad for social recognition by extravagant and vulgar display. By these patriotic means England has developed from its little island a power which rules half the territory of the civilized world by its laws and literature. Largely inheriting these qualifications of the Anglo-Saxon race and the substantial usages and theories of

constitutional government from this our mother country, we are naturally called upon to sustain and develop the fortunes of a united country, embracing the western continent under the higher ideal of a constitutional democratic republic, founded by Washington and Jefferson and their compatriots in 1776, and perpetuated by our martyred President Lincoln and his compatriots in 1865.

Religion and politics—the church and the state—are essentials of all civilized governments, their equilibrium being the perfection of civilized life. It cannot be disguised, Mr. Editor, and well-authenticated proofs are before you herein cited from the highest authority, that these conservative factors have seceded from each other and have drifted into neglect and even into antagonism, one devoted solely to theology and the other as earnestly to office-seeking; one in the zealous exercise of sectarian antagonism, the other influenced and perverted by party fealty, the cohesive power of public plunder. With the exception of a few—very few—earnest and patriotic churchmen like Bishop Potter, and statesmen like Ex-President Cleveland, and the conservative press of the country, there is little protest against this dangerous departure from the early conformity to the ideal of our government. And I regret to add that our own church has been too much influenced by the popular current, for while its sermons and efforts are to be commended in favor of sending the Gospel to distant lands, and in some cases not so clear, to favor war in sympathy with reforms in foreign nations, yet it rarely speaks of the dangers to which I have referred or counselled the personal exercise of those public duties by which it is acknowledged these evils can be avoided or redressed in our own church and country. Should not charity, and Christian effort, begin at home?

And here, in closing, Mr. Editor, I ask you, have not the rapid development of despotic bossism in domestic politics during the past decade, to which I have called your attention, and the blatant jingoism of members of Congress in our foreign affairs been brought into absolute power, and with them an expensive war, chiefly by the abstinence of our conservative citizens from their important public duties, without which a republican form of government leads eventually to either despotism or anarchy? Has the present system of politics in any way brought this country to approach the ideal of Washington and Lincoln?

Surely the outlook calls for consideration, and I hope that you will give the public the benefit of your conservative views enforcing the moral and religious duties of citizenship in your editorial.

I am very truly yours,

RICHARD LATHERS.